

THE
C R E E D

O F

Mr. Hobbes
EXAMINED;

In a feigned

C O N F E R E N C E

Between Him

A N D

A S T U D E N T I N D I V I N I T Y.

BY Dⁿ THOMAS TENNISON ARCHDEACON OF CANTERBURY.

The second Edition, much Corrected.

L O N D O N :

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*To the Right Honourable Ed-
ward Earl of Manchester,
Lord Chamberlain of his
Majestie's Household, &c.*

My LORD,

Seeing I ow to your Liberality
both the leasure and sub-
sistence which I enjoy at *Ho-
lywel*, I am under the greatest
obligation of presenting, to
your Honour, the First-fruits of my
Studies, since my retirement to that
Place. These Studies, promoted by
the encouragement of your Lord-
ship, were often suggested to me, by
the unwelcome conversation of two
sorts of People, of which some ap-
pear'd deficient in Faith, and others,
in Charity. It is not long, since, by
accident, I convers'd with many who
were forward enough in venting li-
centious Principles, in the way, but

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without the accomplishments, of Mr. *Hobbes*: neither have I escaped the trouble of meeting with some, who, having heard of the Error, and Recantation, of an unhappy young man, committed, sometime, to my care; began to reproach my self as a favourer of such opinions. As for this rash attempt against my own good name (the prejudice, which, from thence, might be sustained in my Calling, being set apart); I could have been content to have sate down in silence under it; being ready to despise, rather than, deeply, to resent the loudest noise of such impertinent accusers. For I had learn'd of old, and by this instance was reminded of it, how unequal judges the vulgar are wont to be; and how very few either can, or do, examine the reason of Things. It sufficeth me, that I continue in the good opinion of your Lordship, and of some other very excellent persons, whose Judgements seem not to be corrupted by ignorance, credulity, or, unjust suspicion: and doubtless, that Honour is to be preferr'd, which is rather tall than broad. In the mean
time,

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time, it grieved me to see the Truth
lye bleeding at the feet of those who
had not spurned at it out of strength
of Reason, but out of meer wanton-
ness of humour; and I esteem'd it a
piece of Religion, to bear such a part
as I was able in the vindication of
her. In this Cause some have al-
ready engaged, whose Learning is
greater than that I should either e-
qual it, or give it such praise as it hath
merited: and, certainly, the Pens of
many others ought also to be sharp-
ned and employed, against our Au-
thor; that so Religion, may the more,
triumph over Atheism, and glory
both in the strength and in the num-
ber of her Advocates; and that
there may be left, as little soundness
in the Reputations, as there is in the
Discourses, of such unreasonable
men.

How sound those are, of which
Mr. *Hobbes* hath been the great Pa-
tron, I leave to the judgement of
all persons, who have not, by any
sensual course of life, receiv'd di-
stastful impressions against Religion.
He hath affirmed of God, that he is
a bodily substance, though most re-

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fin'd ; and that he forceth evil upon the very wills of men. He hath fram'd a model of Government, pernicious, in its consequence, to all Nations ; and injurious to the Right of his present Majesty : for he taught the people , soon after the Martyrdom of his Royal Father , that his Title was extinguish'd when his adherents were subdu'd ; and that the Parliament had the Right for that very Reason , because it had possession. He hath subjected the Canon of Scripture to the Civil Powers, and taught them the way of turning the Alcoran into Gospel. He hath said it is lawful, not onely to dissemble, but, plainly to renounce our Faith in Christ, in order to the avoidance of persecution. His imagination hath been infected with so strange an itch after uncertain Novelties in Doctrine , that he hath affronted Geometry it self, which, so well, deserveth the name of Science.

You see, my Lord, that the same person, who endeavoureth to shake the Foundations of Religion, doth manage a quarrel against the very Elements

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lements of *Euclid*. He hath, long ago, publish'd his Errours in Theologie, in the English Tongue, insinuating himself, by the handsomeness of his style, into the mindes of such whose Fancie leadeth their Judgements: and to say truth of an Enemy, he may, with some Reason, pretend to *Mastery*, in that Language. Yet for this very handsomeness in dressing his Opinions, as the matter stands, he is to be reprov'd; because, by that means, the poyson which he hath intermixed with them is, with more readiness and danger, swallowed. Of late he hath set forth his *Leviathan* in the Latine Tongue; declaring his desire (as is the manner of infected persons) of spreading his Malady throughout the World.

All this being considered, your Lordship will not think it strange, that I use, towards him, in some places, a little warmth in my refutation: which just Zeal, if he interpreteth, Passion and Rayling; he falleth into a like mistake with the poor *Norwegian* in *Balzac*, who fled away from a Rose, conceiving it to be

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Fire. Wherefore for any bitterness of style, I will not be so injurious to my own innocence as to confesse it; but for the Elocution it self, I cannot but acknowledge, before so great a Master of speaking as your Lordship is known to be, that, in many places, it is beneath mediocrity: yet even that imperfection serveth the Character of such a person as speaketh in an extemporarie Dialogue; he being, now and then, at a loss for aptness or fulness of expression. Concerning the Introduction to this Dialogue, if it seemeth a little from the purpose of the ensuing Arguments, it is the more natural beginning of an occasional Conference, in which men, otherwise than in the Schools, come not immediately to the matter. And I well remember that *Minutius Felix*, in that Dialogue, wherein he defendeth the Christian Faith against the Cavills of the Pagans, beginneth with a story of his walking towards the Sea; of his bathing, with good event, in the salt Waters; and of the little sports which Children used in making the stones dance upon the surface of the waves.

That

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That which, possibly, may offend more, is the frugality of notion, where-with I may seem to have managed some of these great Arguments; though, in relation to the chief business concerning Matter as incapable of thinking, I have not been sparing in my words or conceptions. But your Lordship (I assure my self) knoweth well, that a man can scarce keep at distance enough from the crime of *Albutius* the Rhetorician, who desired to speak, in every Cause, not all that was fitting, but all that he could say: That a Defender of Religion is not always bound to produce the Arguments which prove the Truth, of which the Church is always supposed in possession; but it sufficeth that he keep off Aggressors: And this (for instance) was the manner of *Laetantius*. Lastly, that the Book being composed in form of a Dialogue; by the largeness of my Replies, I should have seemed guilty of the incivility of common Disputants, who endeavour to ingross the talk, and are unwilling to allow, to others, their turns of speaking. For the rest, I might alledge, with truth enough

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nough by way of excuse, the performance of this Labour in the short space of the last Winter-Quarter: but the Apology it self, the great haste in those twelve Articles, might perhaps seem a crime, and a matter of greater guilt than the error of *Ovid*, who made the Sun to pass through all the twelve Signes of the *Zodiack* in a single day. The whole, such as it is, is most humbly submitted to the Candor and Charity of your Lordship, of which, that it is great, I have good assurance, seeing your Honour hath pleased to receive into the number of your dependants,

My Lord,

Cambr. June 4.
1670

Your Lordships most obliged,

though unworthy Servant,

Tho. Tenison.



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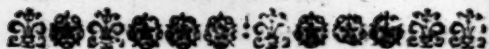
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1657.
Elementorum Philosophiæ sectio secunda de
Homine. *Lond.* 1658.
Mr. *Hobbes* considered, or his Letter to Dr.
Wallis, concerning the Loyalty, Religion, Re-
putation, and manners of the Author. *Lond.*
1662.
Mirabilia Pecci. *Lond.* Reprinted, 1666.

Mr.



THE
C R E E D
OF
Mr. HOBBS, &c.

The First Part.

MR. Hobbes of Malmesbury, having pretended to furnish the world with Demonstration, instead of talkative and contentious Learning; and having particularly attempted to resolve the appearances of Nature, by Principles almost wholly new, without any offensive Novelty; to discover the Faculties, Acts, and Passions of the Soul of Man, from their Original Causes; to build upon these two Foundations, the truth of Cases in the Law of Nature, and all the undoubted Elements of Government.

vernment and Society ; to discourse of God, and of the most momentous Articles of Religion, in a way peculiar to himself : and having done all this with such a confidence, as becometh only a Prophet or an Apostle ; there is certainly no man who hath any share of the Curiosity of this present Age, or hath had his conversation amongst Modern Books, who yet remaineth unacquainted with his Name and Doctrine. Of these, the later hath spread its malignity amongst us too too far, and it hath infected some who can, and more who cannot read a difficult Author. Wherefore it is the business of this little Book ; to expose this insolent and pernicious Writer ; to shew unto my Countreymen that weakness of head, and venom of mouth, which is in the Philosopher, who hath rather seduc'd and poyson'd their Imaginations, than conquer'd their Reason. And in doing this, I shall assume the usual and allowed Liberty of signing a Discourse betwixt Mr. *Hobbes*, and a Student in Divinity ; as also such Circumstances as gave occasion to the Dialogue ; after the ensuing manner.

A certain Divine having allotted one moneth in a year for his Diversion, as also for his better information in the Topography of *England*, he chose, a while since, to become an eye-witness of those Wonders of the *Peak*, of which he had sometimes read with some content, in the elegant Prose of Mr. *Cambden*, and heroick numbers of Mr. *Hobbes*. In this Progress, he was led at length, by his Curiosity, to *Buxton-Well*, in such a juncture of time as he esteemed happy :

by : For at the same hour with him, Mr. Hobbes alighted there, together with three or four other persons, of no inferior Quality; for the old Man being a well-willer to long life, and knowing that those Waters were comfortable to the Nerves, (a) and very useful towards the prolongation of health, was not unwilling to be a visiter of them. The fellow-Travellers of Mr. Hobbes had no sooner taken their Foot out of the Stirrop, than they were surprized by the Contents of a Letter, which a speedy Messenger, dispatched after them, deliver'd into their hands. The business was a matter of great importance, and such as admitted of no delay, and was very improper for the attendance of Mr. Hobbes, who was therefore left by them with much excuse, and many expressions of Civility, to the sole conversation of the Divine. In their Address, Mr. Hobbes made his, with a stiff posture, and a forbidding Countenance, having no ground of hoping for good usage from Men of that Order, upon which he had cast so-much of his foulest Ink, besides their Christian Charity in forgiving Injuries. But it was not long before he learnt virtue from necessity, and chose, rather than to want, or seem to shun, an equal Companion, to put himself into a more sociable humour. After they had said those things which are of course amongst men in their salutations, and made known to one another their Names and Qualities, and purposes in this Journey, they prepar'd themselves to enter into the Bath. Whilest they were in it, in those intervals wherein they obtain'd

a Mirab.
Peccl. p. 18.
Hec resoluta
ta senum
confirmat
membra
tremendum,
&c. Camb.
in Province.
Darb. p.
361.
Fontes —
Stomacho,
nervis, et
universo
corpori sa-
lubres, &c.

b *Mir. Pec.*
p. 18.

*Nunc facie
prona na-
mus; nunc
nare supini
Tentamus.
Bibimus,
&c.*

c *Mirab.*

Pecci. p. 18,

19.

*Postquam
exatâ, per
totam, flu-
tibus, ho-
ram*

*Lusimus;
egressi sic-
cus, &c.*

*Vestitos
fratris ex-
pectat ca-
cula measis.*

from swimming, (b) and plunging them-
selves, they discours'd of many things relating
to the Baths of the Antients, and the Origine
of Springs. When they had in this manner
(c) pass'd away an hour, they stepped out of
the Bath, and having dried and cloath'd them-
selves, they sat down, in expectation of such a
Supper as the place afforded, designing to re-
fresh themselves like the *Deipnosophiste*, and ra-
ther to reason, than to drink profoundly. But
in this innocent intention they were interrupt-
ed by the disturbance arising from a little quar-
rel, in which some of the ruder people in the
house were for a short time engaged. At this
Mr. Hobbes seem'd much concern'd, though he
was at some distance from the persons. For a
while he was not compos'd, but related it once
or twice as to himself, with a low and careful
tone, how *Sextus Roscius* was murder'd after
Supper by the *Balneæ Palatine*. Of such general
extent is that Remark of *Cicero*, in relation to
Epicurus the Atheist, of whom he observed, that
he of all men, dreaded most those things which
he contemned, Death and the Gods. But Mr.
Hobbes having in a short space recovered him-
self; he was willing to enter with the Eccle-
siastick, into a serious discourse, and to examine,
and account for, such Doctrines in his Books,
as were usually accus'd not only of error, but
likewise of down-right irreligion. And for
the more convenient managing of this Dia-
logue, the Divine address'd himself to Mr.
Hobbes, to this purpose.

Student.

Student. Before we engage in any Dispute, I am desirous to deal plainly with you, in reference to some things which, if you persist in them, may obstruct our design: And I hope you will not interpret for contempt, my ordinary liberty of conversation. You have been represented to the world, as a person (d) very inconvertible, and as an imperious Dictator of the principles of vice, and impatient of all dispute and contradiction. It hath been said (e) that you will be very angry with all men that will not presently submit to your Dictates; and that for advancing the reputation of your own skill, you care not what unworthy reflexions you cast on others. *Monsieur Descartes* (f) hath written it to your Confident, *Mersennus*, and it is now publish'd to all the world, 'That he esteem'd it the better for himself that he had not any commerce with you; as also, that if you were of such an humour, as he imagined, and had such designs, as he believed you had, it would be impossible for him and you to have any communication, without becoming enemies. And your great friend *Monsieur Sorbier* hath accus'd you of being too dogmatical; and hath reported (g) how you were censured for the vanity of dogmatizing, between His Majesty, and himself, in his Majesties Cabinet. You are thought, in dispute, to use the Scripture with irreverence; and you have (h) in a scoff mention'd the *Focus* of the *Parabola* of *Dives* and *Lazarus*. I am ashamed of that humour in *Descartes*, who hearing that *Monsieur Petit* (i) had a little relish'd his *Meditations*, said, 'He was well

d *Divine Dial. Di. 1. p. 5, 6.*

e *Ep. before Vindic. Academ.*

f *Tom. troi. p. 157, 158. Je juge que le meilleur est que je n'aye point du tout de Commerce avec luy, &c.*

g *Sorb. Voyage, p. 97.*

h *Stigmat, p. 14.*

i *Lex. de Mr. D. 3. tom. p. 55.*

'pleased; adding also, That there was joy in
'Heaven for one sinner that converted. If you
appear morose, wedded to your opinion, and
profane; if you endeavour to enervate any Ar-
ticle of moment in our Faith, you must expect,
either to be left alone, or to undergo the rebuke
of a just indignation. I applaud in others, and
I labour after, a mastery of passion in my self;
but when the honour of Religion is concern'd,
it is my judgment not to suppress my warrant-
table zeal; and I cannot value such a moderate
man as, in a worthy cause, is neither hot, nor
cold.

k Mr. Hobbs
Confid. p.
59, 60.

Mr. *Hobbes*. For the morosity (*k*) and pee-
vishness which I am charged with, all that
know me familiarly, know 'tis a false accusa-
tion. But it is meant, it may be, only towards
those that argue against my opinion; but neither
is that true. When vain and ignorant persons,
unknown to me before, come to me on purpose
to argue with me, and to extort applause for
their foolish opinions, and missing of their end,
fall into undiscreeit and uncivil expressions, and
then appear not very well contented, 'tis not
my morosity, but their vanity that should be
blamed.

l *Lect. de*
Mr. D. 3.
tom. p. 159.
ad Merfen.
Rogo ne
plura ex te
discat de
me: prin-
cipia, quān
jam novit,
&c.

m Mr. H.
six *Less. p.*
38.

For *Descartes*, he was moved without cause,
being jealous (*l*) that I should supplant him
in his *Principles of Philosophy*. That fear was
groundless; for I differed much from him, espe-
cially in the explication of sense by motion. Let
any man read *Descartes*, (*m*) he shall find that
he attributeth no motion at all to the object of
sense,

sense, but an inclination to action, which inclination no man can imagine what it meaneth. Touching the Holy Scriptures, I am so far from irreverence towards them, that I have great regard (u) to the Articles and Decrees of our Church, suspending my sentence, where the Church hath not determined.

n Lib. &
rec. p. 47.

Stud. It would be much satisfaction to find all this in the sequel of our Discourse, confirmed to me by experience. But whatsoever your behaviour is like to be, I cannot but fear (having been conversant in your *Leviathan*) that your Opinions will deserve a proof. I have sometimes heard the substance of them comprized in twelve Articles, which sound harshly to men professing Christianity, and they were delivered under the Title of the *Hobbiſt's Creed*, in such phrase and order as followeth.

1. "I believe that God is Almighty matter;
2. "that in him there are three Persons, he having been thrice represented on earth; that it
3. "is to be decided by the Civil Power, whether
4. "he created all things else; that Angels are
5. "not Incorporeal substances, (those words implying a contradiction) but preternatural
6. "impressions on the brain of man; that the
7. "Soul of man is the temperament of his Body; that the very Liberty of Will, in that
8. "Soul, is Physically necessary; that the prime
9. "Law of Nature in the Soul of man is that
10. "of temporal self-Love; that the Law of the
- "Civil Sovereign is the only obliging Rule of

- 9 "just and unjust; that the Books of the Old
 "and New Testament are not made Canon and
 10 "Law, but by the Civil Powers; that whatso-
 "ever is written in these Books, may lawfully
 "be denied even upon Oath, (after the lau-
 "dable doctrine and practice of the *Gnosticks*)
 "in times of persecution, when men shall
 11 "be urged by the menaces of Authority; that
 "Hell is a tolerable condition of life, for a few
 "years upon earth, to begin at the general Re-
 12 "surrection; and that Heaven is a blessed e-
 "state of good men, like that of *Adam* before
 "his fall, beginning at the general Resur-
 "rection, to be from thenceforth eternal up-
 "on Earth in the Holy-Land.

o Six Leff.
 p. 57. I be-
 lieve my
 Leviathan
 hath fra-
 med the
 minds of a
 1000 Gen-
 tlemen to a
 conscienti-
 ous obedi-
 ence to pre-
 sent Go-
 vernment,
 which o-
 therwise
 would have
 wavered
 in that
 point.

These Articles, as they are double in their number; so do they a thousand times exceed in mischievous error, those six so properly called bloody ones, in the days of King Henry the Eighth.—Nay, Sir, I beseech you, sit not to uneasily, neither prepare to vent your passion; for if it shall appear in the pursuit of this Disputation, that this charge which is now drawn up, is false, I will not persist in it, but be zealous in moving all your slanderers to lay themselves at those Feet of yours, at which (as you your self have written) (o) so very many of our English Gentry have, with excellent effect, sate for instruction. At present I desire to take no other advantage from that presumed Creed, than may be derived from the method in which the Articles of it are propounded, as also from the particular subjects contained in them, without any

any forestalling assent or dissent of mind. For from thence we may fitly borrow both the Heads and the Order of such a discourse, as will lead us, without confusion, throughout all those Opinions, with which you are said to have debauched Religion.

Let us then take our beginning from the first Article, that fundamental Principle, which being removed, all real Religion falls to the ground; that is to say, the *Existence of a God*. Are you then convinced, that God is?

Mr. *Hobbes*. I am. For (p) the effects we acknowledge naturally, do include a power of their producing, before they were produced; and that Power presupposeth something *Existent* that hath such Power: and something so existing with power to produce, if it were not eternal, must needs have been produced by somewhat before it, and that again by somewhat else before that, till we come to an eternal (that is to say, the First,) Power of all Powers, and first Cause of all Causes: and this is it which all men conceive by the name of God.

p Hum.
Nat. pag.
132. &
Lev. 6. 12.
p. 53. &
Obj. 5.
p. 97.

Stud. By this Argument, unwary men may be, perhaps, deceived into a good opinion of your Philosophy; as if by the aids of it, you were no weak defender of Natural Religion: but such as with due attention, search your Books, they cannot miss a Key, wherewith they may decypher those mysterious words, and shew that, in their true and proper meaning, they undermine Religion, instead of laying the ground-

p Tom. 3. p.
429. Dat.
1641.

ground-work of it. *Des-Cartes* in an Epistle to Father *Merfennus* (p) makes mention, though with much neglect, of your opinion concerning a Corporeal God: this it seems you had broached in a studied Letter, which passed through divers hands, about that time when All things Sacred began to be most rudely invaded; to wit, the commencement of our Civil Wars. And in divers Books, since that time published, you have often insinuated, and sometimes directly asserted, that whatsoever existeth is material. Seeing then, it is absurd to say, that Matter can create Matter; it followeth that the effects you speak of in your argument, are not to be understood of the very Essences of bodies (which in your Book *de Corpore* (q) you conceive to be neither generated nor destroyed) but of those various changes, which, by motion, are caused in nature: your sense, then, amounteth to this impious assertion; that in the chain of natural causes, subordinate to each other, that portion of matter which in one rank of causes and effects (for you admit (r) of an eternal cause or of causes) being it self eternally moved, (s) gave the first impulse to another body, which also moved the neighbouring Body, and so forward in many links of succession, till the motion arrived at any effect which we take notice of, is to be called God. In the like sense the Atheist *Vaninus* called nature, (t) the Queen and Goddess of Mortals; being (as saith a learned Writer) (u) a sottish Priest of the said Goddess, and also a most infamous sacrifice.

q De Corp.
Part 2. p.
84.

r De Corp.
c. 26. p. 307
Till at last
we came to
one or many
eternal
Cause or
Causes.

s Ibid.
t Tit. lib. J.
C. V. De
Admirandis
naturæ Re-
giæ Deaq;
mortalium.
u p. VVin-
dect de vitâ
quâst. Sta-
tu, p. 13.

Mr.

Mr. Hobbes. This principle, that God is not incorporeal, is (x) the doctrine which I have sometimes written, and when occasion serves, maintain : I say, therefore, that (y) the world (I mean not the earth onely, that denominates the lovers of it worldly men, but the Universe, that is, the whole Mass of all things that are) is corporeal, that is to say, body ; and hath the dimensions of magnitude, namely, length, breadth and depth ; also every part of body is likewise body, and hath the like dimensions ; and consequently every part of the universe is body, and that which is not body, is no part of the universe : and because the universe is all, that which is no part of it is nothing, and consequently no where : nor does it follow from hence, that Spirits are nothing ; for they have dimensions, and are therefore really bodies ; though that name in common speech be given to such bodies onely, as are visible or palpable, that is, that have some degree of opacity. But for Spirits they call them incorporeal ; which is a name of more honor, and may therefore with more piety be attributed to God himself ; in whom we consider not what attribute expresseth best his nature, which is incomprehensible, but what best expresseth our desire to honor him.

x H. Com.
lib. 9. 32.
y Leviath.
part 4. ch.
46. p. 372.

Stud. If every part of body be body, not onely as to us, but in it self ; there seemeth to be such an inexhaustibleness in the least atome, as will render it, as infinite as the whole Mass of the remaining Matter ; neither do I apprehend how

a Lev. p. 4,
11, 19, 39,
371. lib. &
rec. p. 5. fix
Lett. p. 56.

b Lev. part
2 p. 190. &
Hum. Nat.
p. 134.
c D. Corp.
part 2. p.
78, 79.
d Jupiter
est quad-
cunq; videt
quocunq;
movetur.

how there can ever be made a true beginning of the Theory of Nature, if after the utmost resolution of matter, it be impossible to descend to the very root of Bodies: which Root I would name, a Physical Monad, if you would not use your standing weapons of reproach, (a) Jargon; nonsense; absurd and insignificant speech. But I will pursue this perplexing Argument no further, because we must not loose sight of our main Subject, touching the Corporeity of God; which is affirmed by you in this place, without the least offer of a Reason; which in good earnest were a very vain attempt: for if All be matter; seeing God is infinite and every where, (b) and Body cannot be at the same time in the same space with Body, (c) (both which by you are also granted) then by the name of God we must understand the universe. Then (d) whatsoever we see, or whatsoever we move towards, the same is *Jupiter*. and such an opinion, if it once break in upon our belief, it will make a way there, by which a million of absurdities may follow after it: and that I may not seem to deceive by a general assertion, I will here repeat a few of them. It will follow thence, that All the actions of God proceed by unavoidable compulsion, from the mechanic Laws of moving and moved Matter: That the Deity is finite; and that it is, in several portions of it, at wide physical distance from it self; by reason of the finite dimensions, and by reason of the impenetrableness of its parts. That some parts of the Deity perceive, what others do not, th. r. being in divers bodies, divers Re-actions,

in

in which you place the nature of conception (e) in organized matter ; and must also allow the same in that which hath neither brain nor heart, if you will admit of perception every where, in Your Deity. That, if any parts of matter be perfectly at rest, then such parts of the Deity, (suppose of Gold, Lead, or Marble) are without understanding. And thus, in opposition to the Sovereign God, whose being and knowledge are no where excluded, you have set up a *Basal* of your own, of which one part is asleep, in the depth of Rest ; and the other is in a journey, hurried by motion. It will also follow from this principle of yours, that Idolatry which you somewhere (f) condemn as sinful, is no crime ; it being no other than an amicable officiousness, in one part of the Deity towards the other, if the Universe be God : and here a saying of *Athenagoras* (g) comes in fit time into my minde ; and it is to this effect. ' If God and Matter be the same ' thing under differing appellations ; we are im- ' pious if we deny to Stones and Trees, to Gold ' and Silver, divine honour. Lastly, if the U- niverse be God ; then *Cain*, and *Cham*, and *Pharao*, and *Herod*, and *Pilate*, and *Judas*, and (that I may say it with sufficient emphasis) the Teacher also of this doctrine is part of the Deity.

e Lev. 23.
&c. &
part 4. p.
352, &c.

f Lev. part
4. p. 359. to
366.
g Athenag.
Leg. pro
Christian.
p. 14. Εἰ
μὴν τὸν
τὸν ὅλον ὁ
θεός, ἀπὸ
ἀνέκτου
καὶ ἀνιδ-
εῖστον
τοῦ, τὰς
ἀίδου ὁ
τὸν ἅπαν
ἐστὶν ὁ τὸν
ἀργυρεὺς ὁ
καί τις
θεός, ἀπὸ
ἀνέκτου
καὶ ἀνιδ-
εῖστον
p. 62, 63.

Mr. Hobbes. This (b) is all error and railing, that is, stinking wind, such as a Jade lets fly, when he is too hard girt upon a full Belly.

Stud. This nasty metaphor is widely misplaced, whilst instead of saying that I am hard girt, you should have confess'd your self (for that's the truth) to have been galled to the quick. For my self, I was not intemperate in my passion, but zealous in the truth: but your language is both foul and unjust; and (to allude further to the beast you speak of) you therefore boggle and foam, because, of a sudden, there is too much light let in upon you. But, laying aside this reviling humor, which is common, not with ingenious Philosophers, but with people of poor and evil education; let me with calmness be informed of those Reasons, upon which you so confidently support your self, in maintaining the materiality of God.

i Lev. part
2. p. 150.

Mr. Hobbes. Before I repeat my Reasons, I will let you understand that I have expressly taught in my *Leviathan*, (i) that those Philosophers, who said the World, or the Soul of the World was God, spake unworthily of him, and denied his Existence: for by God is understood the Cause of the World; and to say that the World is God, is to say, there is no cause of it, that is, no God.

Stud. In this you are at agreement with me, but seem to contradict your self; for here you deny that the World is God, and elsewhere you defend it, most pertinaciously, that All is Body: which if it be, then (as hath been said) the whole is God, if he existeth; seeing nothing
that

that is, can give bounds unto his infinite nature; and Body can be a neighbour to Body, but not an Inhabitant. In some places you write down, and in others you dash out your fancy of a corporeal God: you have said, that whatsoever is, is Body; you have also written, (k) that to attribute to God, parts or totality, is not honour, because they are attributes onely of things finite: and now methinks you should not be so impatient of contradiction from others, seeing you swallow it without straining in your own Books. But from this diversion, please to return unto those promised Reasons, wherewith you are wont to manage this Argument of the materiality of our Creator.

Mr. *Hobbes*. In this I will comply with you; and my care (l) it is, and labour, to satisfy the judgement and reason of mankind.

And first, (m) what kinde of attribute, I pray you, is immaterial or incorporeal substance? Where do you finde it in the Scripture? Whence came it hither, but from *Plato* and *Aristotle*, Heathens, who mistook those thin inhabitants of the brain they see in sleep, for so many incorporeal men; and yet allow them motion, which is proper onely to things corporeal? Do you think it an honour to God to be one of these? And would you learn Christianity from *Plato* and *Aristotle*? But seeing there is no such word in the Scripture, how will you warrant it from natural reason? Neither *Plato* nor *Aristotle* did ever write of, or mention an incorporeal spirit; for they could not

l F. B. Ep.
to Hum.
nat.
m H. Confid.
p. 32, 33.

conceive how a spirit, which in their language was πνεῦμα, (in ours, a wind) could be incorporeal.

Stud. In this first Endeavour (for a Reason I cannot style it) there are many things which appear to me absurd. You tell us that the Attribute of Incorporeal was borrowed from the Heathens, *Plato* and *Aristotle*; and yet, almost in the same breath, you say, that neither of them did ever write of, or mention an incorporeal spirit. You reproach us, as learning Christianity (instead of which you ought to have used the more proper term of Natural Theology) from such Heathens; and thereby you seem to herd with that ignorant multitude, who of late decry'd all humane Learning, upon pretence that it was heathenish and profane: as if the Pearl of Wisdom and Reason were so besmear'd by the usage of the Heathens, as to be rendred unfit for the touch and service of a Christian Philosopher. You again are too too much in their humour, whilst you require express mention of a term in holy Scripture, and upon the supposed silence of it, reject the notion which may be delivered in another form of words. Further, the Philosophers allow'd not motion, in your sense, to spirits. They maintained (says (a) *Athenagoras*) that the soul of their Deity mov'd not in it self, but gave motion to its supposed Body, the Æther and Stars. And moreover, when you say that *Plato* and *Aristotle* could not conceive a spirit (by reason that with them it signified

a *Athenag.*
Lug. pro
Chr. p. 7.

a wind) to be incorporeal; therein also you ought not to have used such confidence in your assertion: for if wind be motion, and motion be so unglued and loose, as to pass from Body to Body; I know not whether the name of wind may not more promote, than obstruct the apprehension of an incorporeal Being. We are informed by *Sextus Empiricus*, (a) that some of the Ancients contended expressly for the incorporeity of motion. I mean by motion, that force so little yet understood, which is the cause of the translation of bodies, and not, as you somewhere (b) speak, the relinquishing of one place, and acquiring another.

b Sext.
Emp. Pyr.
hyp. l. 3. c.
17. p. 138.

b De Corp.
part 2. c. 8.
p. 79.

But leaving this subtiler Consideration, I will proceed to shew, that neither the Scripture, nor the School of *Plato* or *Aristotle*, is wholly unacquainted with the Doctrine of an incorporeal spirit. Concerning the holy Scripture, it saith, that God created all things, and filleth all things, and therefore it teacheth that he is immaterial. And for the very term, we may perhaps meet with it in the words of our blessed Lord (c) who appearing to the doubting and amazed Disciples, encouraged and confirmed their faith, by saying to them, "Lay hold of me, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal Demon. You will now tell me, that I follow not the true Copy of the New Testament, in the translation of this produced Text. I defend my self, by answering, that I follow holy *Ignatius*, who in his undoubted

c Luke 24.
39.

d Ign. Ep.
ed. Voss. 7. 3

c. He pre-
saceth to
them by
van au-
τὸς, He
said unto
them, not
adding, To
this purpose.

f Just.
Mart. ep.
p. 219.
καὶ με-
τρησθῶ-
ντα ἢ τῶν
ἀσωμά-
των ὅν-
των, &c.

g Αὐλὸν
ἢ ἀσώμα-
τον πῦρ,

Epistle to those of *Smyrna* (d) cited both by *Eusebius* and *St. Hierome*, bringeth in our Lord using these words, Αὐτῷ. ψαλῶσατί μου, ὃ ἴδεν, ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν σαλευθῆναι αὐτοῦ. This excellent person, who saw our Lord after his Resurrection, did either cite the words exactly (c) or else, which also strengthneth my cause, he express'd the sense of them, according as it was received in the incorrupt fit age of the Christian Church.

Concerning the Philosophy of *Plato*, in relation to the Question which lyeth before us, there is nothing more received, than that he affirmed the most celestial parts of matter, neither to be God, or Angel, or Spirit of man, but to be, ὀχλῶμα πνευματικόν, (as is the phrase of *Hierocles*) the spiritual Chariots of præ-existing Angels, or of departed mindes. In the beginning of the Dialogue with the Jew *Trypho*, *Justin Martyr* (f) at large, relating his small prociencie under the Tutorage of a *Stoick*, a *Peripatetick*, and a *Pythagorean*, adds also, that he adjoyn'd himself at last to a *Platonist* of great fame; that he improved daily by his instruction; that he was extremely pleas'd, amongst other parts of Science, by him taught, with the notion of incorporeal Beings: and if I well remember, the great admirer of *Plato*, *Pfellus*, has call'd the Soul an immaterial and incorporeal fire. (g) And touching *Plato* himself, I am sure that I have read this Maxim

in

in his *Politics*, (c) ' That incorporeal Beings, ' which are of all others the most glorious and ' great, are only conspicuous to the faculty of ' Reason: which though it be there said by *Hobbes*, yet it is approved of by *Plato* himself, under the name of *Socrates*, who reply'd, that he had excellently spoken. Neither will I pass by the testimony of *Aristotle*, who by his separate Intelligences, meaneth (saith *Ben Maimon*) (d) the same with those who maintain the existence of incorporeal Angels. And concerning the rational Soul, he teacheth, (e) that it is separable from the Body, because it is not the Entelech of any Body, having a while before enquired whether it be endued with any peculiar function, not arising from this compounded estate. He also (f) denieth, that motion can arise from a body.

c Plat. Pol.
Ed. Fic. p.
182. Ta
Soc.
d. 1. 1. 1.
Socr.
Kallias
Socr.
d. 1. 1. 1.
Neurichin,
part. 2. c. 16.
p. 200.
e Arist. de
An. 1. 1. c. 1.
f Arist. de
Culo.

ὅτι ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑαυτῷ

Mr. *Hobbes*. It is manifest by your thick quotations, that you are much in love with Authority; to that therefore in the second place I will refer you. Know then (g) that whatsoever can be inferr'd from the denying of incorporeal substances, makes *Tertullian*, one of the antientest of the Fathers; and most of the Doctors of the Greek Church, as much Atheists, as my self.

g Mr. H.
Conf. p. 371

Stud. You have not, by this means, advanc'd your hopes of victory; for I shall make it evident, that the Forces in whose numbers you trust, are falsely muster'd. The Fathers of the

a Athen.
 Leg. p. 5.
 Ημῶν δὲ,
 Διαγνώσειν
 ἀπὸ τῆς
 ὁμοίας τῶν
 Θεῶν, καὶ
 διακρίνου-
 σιν ὅτι οὐ-
 μὲν τι ὁ-
 νομαζομένη
 ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ
 Θεὸς, &c.
 b Ath. p. 8.
 Ἰν' ἡ χηρὰ
 καὶ τὸν λο-
 γισμὸν
 ἡμῶν τῆς
 πίστεως,
 &c.
 Ὁ Θεός,
 ἀχρηστὸς
 καὶ ἀπαθής,
 καὶ ἀδιαι-
 ρητός, καὶ
 ἀεὶ οὐραν-
 οῦς καὶ γῆ-
 οῦς.
 c Theoph.
 Antioch.
 l. 2. p. 81.
 d Obj. &
 Resp. 3. pag.
 103. Resp.
 ad Obj. 12.
 A' rorq; me
 nullam ha-
 beremus re-
 ctam illa-
 tionem in
 his obiecti-
 onibus in-
 venisse.

Greek Church believe in the same sense with the Doctors of our own, that God is a Spirit: for *Ignatius* and *Justin Martyr*, you have heard already on what side they stand.

Athenagoras, in his Embassie, in behalf of the Christians, to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, and *L. Aurelius Commodus*, discourseth to this purpose.

(a) The *Athenians* did most justly condemn *Diagoras* for Sacrilegious impiety, who rather than his Rapes should remain unboyl'd, would cut in pieces the Statue of *Hercules*; who also did expressly affirm that there was no God at all. But as for us, who separate God from matter, and teach that God is one thing, and matter another, the reproach of Atheism is most unreasonably and injuriously charg'd upon our Creed. The same *Athenagoras*, in a few Pages after this discourse (b) again professeth, not as his private opinion, but as the faith of the Christians of that Age, 'That God admitteth not of any division, neither consisteth of any parts. Then for *Theophilus*, the Patriarch of *Antioch*, who likewise writeth, not as a private man, but as a common Apologist for the Christians; he tells *Antolycus* the Heathen (c) That God is every where, and that every thing is in God. Had he believ'd God to have been a Body, he would not have placed all other Beings in his boundless Essence, unless we shall take the boldness to accuse the holy Patriarch of that fault, which *Des-Cartes* imagined he had espied in your self, of failing (d) whatsoever the premisses be, in the Illations deduced from them. If we consult *Tatianus*, in his

his Oration *contra Græcos*, we shall likewise obtain his suffrage (e) for the immateriality of the First Cause. ' There are, said *Tatianus*, who do ' maintain that God is a Body ; I am not of the ' same belief with them, for my perswasion ' is, that he is incorporeal. *Eusebius* may be produc'd in the same place (f) both against your self, touching the materiality, and against Idolaters, touching the worship of Angels ; for thus he speaks, ' We have learn't to honour the ' incorporeal Powers, according to the degree ' of their Dignity, ascribing Divine honor to ' God alone. St. *Athanasius* tells the Followers of *Sabelius*, that it is a very childish and foolish conceit, by the eye, or by the circumscription of place, to comprehend that which is incorporeal, (g) understanding this speech of the infinite Majesty of Almighty God. St. *Cyril* in the same place affirmeth, God and the Soul of man, to be incorporeal. (b) I might here subjoyn in favour of the common opinion, St. *Irenæus*, (i) St. *Basil*, St. *Gregory Nazienzen*, St. *Gregory Nyssen*, St. *Epiphanius*, and a long order of others, if it were not a needless labour, and would not look more like ostentation, than necessary defence of Truth.

e Tar. Af.
synt. p. 162.
Σύμμι τῆς
ἀναι ἀ-
γῆς θείας
ἐν τῇ α-
σώματῳ.
f Eus. dem.
Evangel. l. 3.
p. 69. Δι-
δάσκει, α-
σώματ' ὡς
τιμᾶν, &c.

g Ath. cont.
Sab. Greg.
tom. 1. pag.
660. Νῦν
οὐ, &c.
ἀσώματ' ὡς
τιμᾶν, &c.
h Ap. Sandii
interp.
Parad. in
Jo. 4. 24. p.
197.
i Iren. l. 3.
c. 23. p.
290.

a Lib. 6.
Nec. p. 6.

Some indeed of the Antients believed Angels not to be wholly incorporeal ; and St. *Hierome* placeth it amongst the Errors of *Origen*, that he ascribed to Angels, Bodies of Air ; they taught not, that Body was their sole essence, but their cloathing. So that to speak after your own manner (a) I observe a great part of those Forces, by the strength of which you contend

against incorporeal substances, to look and march another way.

b Mr. H.
Const. p.
37, 38.

Mr. *Hobbes*. *Tertullian* however is on my side; for he (b) in his Treatise *de Carne Christi*, says plainly, *Omne quod est, corpus est sui generis; nihil est incorporeale, nisi quod non est*. That is to say, Whatsoever is any thing, is a body of its kind; nothing is incorporeal, but that which has no being. There are many other places in him to the same purpose; for that Doctrine served his turn to confute the heresie of them that held, that Christ had no body, but was a Ghost: also of the Soul he speaks as of an invisible Body. You see what fellows in Atheism you joyn with me.

Stud. Some perhaps might here reply, that *Tertullian* was a single witness, and that his testimony might appear invalid, because he was condemned of old, as an Heretick, for this very Doctrine; because he was a man of a various Creed; because he was better skilled in the Laws of the *Roman* Empire, than in those of Nature; at least that he attended not to the Philosophick consequence of his opinion; lastly, because to avoid his adversaries, he ran too nigh the other extreme, and would have used different weapons in another Controversie. But it will be more agreeable to the reverence which we owe to that very antient and learned Writer, to explain one place in him by another, than rudely to accuse him. It is therefore to be noted, that *Tertullian* sometimes cal-

led

led the passive matter by the name of Body, and sometimes by Body, understood the meer substance, being, or essence of things. In the first sense, are those words to be expounded, which we find in his Book *de Animâ*. (c) *In quantum omne corporale passibile est, in tantum quod passibile est, corporale est.* Now it is not to be imagined, that in this meaning of the word *Corpus*, a Body should be attributed to the impassible Nature of God, by a man who devoutly adored his perfections. For the second sense, I will alledge the explication which he himself hath made, in his Book against *Hermogenes* (d) the Philosopher and Painter, who being perhaps debauched by his very profession, which chiefly imploy'd his fancie, affirmed that matter was co-eternal with God. *Nisi fallor enim, omnis res aut corporalis aut incorporalis sit necesse est: ut concedam interim aliquid incorporale de substantiis duataxat, cum ipsa substantia corpus sit rei cujusque.* And in the very words which *Ussher* in those, now cited by you, and crattily conceal'd, it is apparent that by Body, *Tertulian* meant only essence, and not impenetrable matter. The words are these, *Quum autem sit, habeat necesse est aliquid, per quod est: Si habet aliquid per quod est; hoc erit corpus ejus. Omne quod est, corpus est sui generis.*

c *Tertul. de An. c. 7. p. 268.*

d *Tert. advers. Herm. c. 35. p. 246.*

Mr. *Hobbes*. Of Authority enough; let us consult natural Reason, by attending to which I maintain, (a) that Incorporeal Body, is not a name, but an absurdity of speech. Spirits (b) supernatural commonly signifie some substance

a *Hum. Nat. p. 138.*
b *Hum. Nat. p. 139.*

c Lev. c. 4.
p. 17.

d Object.

9. p. 100.

Substantia

est materia

subjecta ac-

cidentibus,

& mutati-

onibus.

e Lev. c. 5.

p. 19.

f Lev. c. 12.

p. 53.

g Lev. c.

34. p. 207.

h Lev. c.

24. p. 214.

without dimension; which two words do flatly contradict one another. I say, again, (c) an Incorporeal Body, or (which is all one) an Incorporeal substance, is a name made up of two names, which have significations contradictory and inconsistent; for (d) a substance is matter, subject to accidents and alterations. If a man (e) should talk to me of a round Quadrangle; or accidents of Bread in Cheese, or immaterial substances; — I should not say he were in an error, but that his words were without meaning; that is to say, absurd. Though men may (f) put together words of contradictory signification, as spirit and incorporeal, yet they can never have the imagination of any thing answering to them. Substance incorporeal (g) are words, which when they are joyned together destroy one another. I say again, (h) that to men that understand the signification of these words, substance and incorporeal, as incorporeal is taken, not for subtile Body, but for not Body, they imply a contradiction.

Stud. This unbacked confidence in an argument of such moment, provokes me to tell you, that you are as notorious in repeating, as those Priests whom men of your persuasion are wont to flout at, whilst they should rather have regard to the dulness of their common Auditories: as also, that if all things twice said, or elsewhere written by you, were picked out, your *Great Leviathan* would shrink to a little Scallop.

But

But to reason with you in your own way , I deny it, once and again , that the speech Incorporeal Substance, either is , or implies a contradiction : there's a bare Nay, of as good strength, as your naked affirmation. You have somewhere promised (a) to endeavour as much as you could, to avoid too happy concluding : but here you are so hasty as to leap over all proper premises into such a conclusion , as is made only by a stiff and presumptuous will. But I will be content to answer also, that we forsake the usage of speech , when we confound the names of Body and Substance. The Logicians , who are at variance in other matters, consent in this, that a Substance is either material , or immaterial. If you resolve to fix a sence to the word, Substance, which hitherto all Custome (which is the Interpreter of Speech) ha's determin'd against ; you usurp too great Authority. *M. Pomponius Marcellus* fear'd not to tell *Tiberius* the Emperor , who had us'd a word not truly Latin , in one of his Edicts; that (b) it was in his power to make Men, but not to make Words free of the City.

a Hum.
Nat. p. 2, 3.

b Sueton.
de illustr.
Grammat.
p. 23. in M.
P.M. Th o-
nim Caesar
Civitatem
dare potes
hominibus,
verba non
potes. al.
Verbis.

Mr. Hobbes. Do you understand (c) the connexion of Substance and Incorporeal ? If you do, explain it in English ; for the words are Latine. It is something, you'l say , that being without Body stands under ——— stands under what ? will you say under accidents ? almost all the Fathers of the Church will be against you ; and then you are an Atheist.

c Mr. H.
Conf. p. 33.

Stud. By avoiding the word, Substance, by which (in despite of general use) you will mean Body, your cavil vanisheth : for if we should use the terms of *Essa*, Being, or Essence, affirming that God is a Being which neither is, nor ha's a Body, you will be of a very quick and sagacious Nose to smell out a contradiction in words so put together. For to Be, and to be without Body, are not terms which destroy each other. It might then be inferred, that all moral virtues, and all Physical motions were names and nothing else. But I will admit of the word, Substance, and (which may seem a concession with advantage) of the word, Matter, too, without any real prejudice to this Cause : for by Substance is frequently understood (as *Des-Cartes* himself, (*d*) who favour'd not the abuse of words, ha's phras'd it) Metaphysick-Matter. That matter is the subject about which our mind is conversant ; whether it be a feigned notion, a name, a privation, or negation : for as *Plato* ha's observed, the Art of Reasoning handles, τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὄντως, Matters, which are not real, after the manner of Reals : and *Aristotle* (whom you are wont to cite when he may serve your occasion) divideth (*a*) matter into intelligible and sensible ; not meaning, as is manifest from his context ; such matter as is composed of imperceptible parts, but such as I now describ'd. *Cicero* (*b*) likewise calleth *Indoles* by the name of Matter.

But substance (you say) being construed a-right, doth signifie something that standeth under :

d Resp. *cart.*
tie. p. 94.
Sub ratione
substantia
vel etiam, si
libet, sub
ratione ma-
teria, nempe
Metaphy-
sica.

a Ar. 1. 8.
Met. c. 6.
Μὴ ὄντα
αὐτὸν ὄν.

b In ver.
Cy. 8. l. 3 p.
203.

der : under what, when ascrib'd to God ? that's your smart Questions it soundeth harshly to answer, Under Accidents, which are for the most part appurtenances to Body. But if I say, Under Attributes (seeing the Anti-Remonstrants have of late allowed it for good Doctrine, that the Decrees of God are not the very essence of God ;) (c) I am not for such an answer, so nigh the borders of Atheism (you should have said, of Heresie) as you , by your false prospective , are ready to elprie me. But to take away all occasion of further cavil about this name, Incorporeal substance ; I will at last refer you to the Law , towards which you pretend the profoundest reverence, submitting your very words at the Foot-stool of such Authority. It then a Substance signifieth Body ; and every thing that is, be Body ; then is the first Article of the nine and thirty (which ha's as much validity in Law , as the Kings Broad-Seal can give it, which I know , you judge sufficient) an heap of absurd and inconsistent words ; for, ' in that Article we are taught ' that there is but one Living and true ' God Everlasting, without Body, Parts , or ' Passions.

c 17th Ar.
min. Ex.
Thes. Com.
p. 159. &
Gomar. Tom.
3. Dis. 9.

Mr. Hobbes. To those Doctrines of the Church, which are made Law by the Kings Authority, I owe reverence ; and have always a will to pay it : in pursuance of which will , I have taught in my *Leviathan*, (d) and you your self, a while since , took notice of it, that to attribute Totality or parts to God, is not

d Lev.
part. 2. p.
190.

b Ham.
Nat. p. 132.

c Lev. 4. 24.
p. 208.

d See Lev.
p. 53. & p.
371. &
Ham. Nat.
p. 134. &
H. Conf. p.
31.

a Virbis
quidem po-
tuit, reus
ad hunc Deum.

to honour him : you may likewise understand, that my opinion concerning God, says nothing of him, but that he is. Forasmuch (b) as God Almighty is Incomprehensible, it followeth, that we can have no conception or Image of the Deity, and consequently all his Attributes signify our inability and defect of power to conceive any thing concerning his Nature, and not any conception of the same, excepting onely this, that there is a God. The Nature, I say, of God (c) is incomprehensible; that is to say, we understand nothing of what he is, but onely that he is; and therefore the Attributes we give him, are not to tell one another what he is, nor to signify our opinion of his Nature, but our desire to honour him with such Names, as we conceive most honourable amongst our selves (d).

Stud. To this last effort of yours, there are divers things to be replied : and in the first place, whereas you have said that to attribute parts to God, is not to honour him ; it follows then, that you, who would seem to mention his Nature with the highest degree of veneration, have notwithstanding a most unworthy conceit of him ; seeing to call him Body, is to cast the reproach of having parts upon him. So that the character which *Cicero* gave of the Herd of *Epicurus*, will not be disagreeable to the followers of a Philosopher whom you know very well ; ' In words they affirm, but in truth they deny the Existence of God. (a).

Again, whilst in your opinion the Deity is

so incomprehensible, that you understand not any thing of his Nature; but profess to honor him at adventures, by such tokens of esteem as are in use with men, or by such as imply our inability to conceive of him; the burthen of our holy Lord against the blind Zealots of *Samaritis*, may be most justly taken up against you, who worship, you know not what: and to say that God is, and also that you apprehend not any attribute that properly appertaineth to his nature, is onely to pronounce of God, as of an indefinite Name: for such is naked Being, strip'd and devested of all such attributes as are required to particularness or distinction of things. Tell me not now (b) that though it be not possible for a man that is born blind, to have any imagination what kind of thing fire is, yet he cannot but know somewhat there is, that men call fire, because it warmeth him: for it is not to be concluded from that similitude, that all that will consider, may know that God is, though not what he is; for a blind man warmed by the fire, understandeth well, because he feeleth the true nature of it, which consisteth not in the colour or shining of it, but in that sensation which ariseth in him from his nerves touched by such of the more earthly parts of matter, as are put into vehement agitation. That God is incomprehensible in some sense, is acknowledged by all, who will not arrogantly suppose their mindes, as infinite as God: but to say that we know not any thing of God, because we have not an adequate conception of him, is as absurd, as if

b Hum.
Nat. p. 133.
Obj. 5. p. 97.
Lev. 6. 11.
p. 51.

a More
 Nev. c. 59.
 part 1. p. 98
 99.

a Navigator should affirm, that he knows nothing of the Sea, but that it is, because he cannot fathom the utmost depts of it. *Maimonides*, in the same place (c) acknowledgeth God to be incomprehensible, yet sheweth that he is incorporeal; and that something is to be known of him, besides his bare Existence, because some men have better apprehensions concerning God than others, who are equal with them in knowing that he is. we pretend not by searching, to finde out God, to finde out the Almighty to perfection; but after some imperfect degree of knowledge to apprehend his Nature. if this be denyed to the minde of man, after the most sagacious ranging of it; and if the attributes, not onely of Incorporeal and Omnipotent, but also of good, and just, and holy, and true, be not some real strokes of the divine Image, but onely marks of honour in the societies of men; then is it an impossible undertaking (so far will it be from the rule of Religion) to labour to imitate Him we worship. then are these places to be blotted out of the holy Canon wherein 'tis written, 'That God is Love: that we 'must be holy, because God is holy: that it becometh us to be merciful (for the quality of 'our virtue) as our Father, who is in Heaven, is 'merciful. then will all Religion dye away; for if we know not that God is True, we cannot believe his Revelations. if we know not that he is good; we cannot love him with any height of affection. if we know not that he is just; our hopes and our endeavours will languish: then by affirming that God is good, or just

just, or holy, we cannot assure our selves, that we shall not, by such speeches, talk wickedly for God.

Mr. *Hobbes*. That (e) which men make amongst themselves here by Pacts and Covenants, and call by the name of Justice, and according whereunto men are accounted and termed rightly just or unjust, is not that by which God Almighty's actions are to be measured or called just, no more than his counsels are to be measured by humane wisdom. that which he does is made just by his doing of it; just I say, in him, though not always just in us.

Lib. vii. p. 21.

Stud. Of eternal reasons of good and evil, we may discourse more pertinently, in our intended Disquisition touching the Law of Nature, and the obligation of humane Laws. Yet I cannot abstain from interposing here this short reply, that although the most incomprehensible God has not submitted all the Acts of his boundless wisdom to our narrow judgments; yet for his Acts of justice and equity, (so far as may render our cavils unrighteous) he hath appealed to the reason of mankind; which therefore is an universal and eternal standard, and not made a just and equal measure, by the meer seal and allowance of humane authority. O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge I pray you, (saith God Almighty) betwixt me and my Vineyard! (e) He also by the Prophet *Ezekiel* (f) maketh ap-

Exa. 3. 3, 4.

Ezek. 18.

peal 25, 29.

peal to the faculties of mortal men, touching the equity of his dispensations. *Ye say the way of the Lord is not equal; bear now, O house of Israel! Is not my way equal? Are not your ways unequal?*

g Mr. H.
Cm. p. 31.

b Hobbii
Obj. 5 p. 97.

i Obj. 11.
p. 102.

k Lev. 23.
p. 11.

Mr. Hobbes. I am willing to dismiss this Argument for a time, and to re-assume it, as you propounded, in its more proper place. In the mean time, I will go on with my opinion, concerning the incomprehensible nature of God. It is (g) by all Christians confest, that God is incomprehensible; that is to say, that there is nothing can arise in our fancie from the naming of him, to resemble him, either in shape, colour, stature, or nature; there is no Idea of him. At (b) the venerable name of God, we have no Image or Idea of God; and therefore we are forbidden to worship God by an image, lest we seem to our selves to conceive him, who is unconceivable. Christian Religion (i) obligeth us to believe that God is unconceivable, that is, as I understand it, such a one of whom we have no Idea. And Reason teacheth, that because (k) whatsoever we conceive, has been perceived first by sense, either all at once, or by parts, a man can have no thought representing any thing, not subject to sense.

Stud. If God be a body, seeing man may have an image of extention, and of all the possible figures, which may be made by the varieties of extention in matter, what hindreth that

that we may not have, in your gross way, an Image of God? But because he is an immaterial substance, we cannot indeed have any bodily resemblance of him; but there is in every man a power to have an Idea of him. For although it hath been said that there have been found whole Nations (as in the Western World in *Brasil*) who have liv'd without the least suspicion of an infinite Being; yet there is no Nation so very barbarous, wherein the Inhabitants have no faculty at all of exciting, in them, this Idea of God. And here I cannot but reprehend it, as a very shameful error, in a man who placeth truth in the right ordering of names, and pretendeth (a) to begin the Sciences, by settling at first the significations of their words, to confound the names of *Image* and *Idea*, as if they were terms of equal importance. It is also an argument of thickness of minde, of a soul not yet advanced above the power of fancie, to say that no man hath, or can have any kinde of conception without an Image; as if nothing were authentically written upon the table of our mindes, without a seal and sensible impression affixed to it. 'I conceive (said a very learned person) (b) that case in this to be alike, as if whilst two men are looking at *Jupiter*, one with his naked eyes, the other, with a Telescope; the former should avow that *Jupiter* had no attendants, and that it were impossible he should have any. The reason why Mr. *Hobbes* denies immaterial Beings, whilst other men apprehend them, is, for that he looks at them

a See *Levi*
c. 4. p. 152

b *Ex. to R.*
before Phila
los. Essay.

‘with his fancie ; they, with their minde. By Idea, is understood, not meerly a corporeal similitude, but any notion without imagery, and whatsoever occurreth in any perception : the very form of cogitation, whereby I become conscious to my self that I have perceived, is an Idea. And *Plato*, to whose School we owe chiefly this name of Idea, has expressly contended for a knowledge, soaring above the ken of fancie ; and taught us, ‘that the greatest and most glorious objects have no Image (c) attending on their perception. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* (d) in his admonition to the *Gentiles*, told them, with reference to their Idolatry, ‘that the Christians had not any sensible image of sensible matter in their divine worship, but that they ‘had an intelligible Idea of the onely Sovereign God (e). There is a great difference betwixt an object seen through a polished Chrystal, and a piece of painted Glass ; and there is a far greater difference betwixt the Idea of God in a perspicacious minde, and the notion of a God taken through the pictures of Imagination. When we consider that all perfections that are, or can be thought of, by man a second cause, are more eminently to be ascribed to the first ; and when we further conceive, that it is much better to have wisdom, power, truth, justice, goodness, than to want them ; and that therefore they are, in any being, so many perfections ; and when we thence indefinitely extend those perfections by the utmost stretch of our mindes, we form aright, though

c Plat. Polit. p. 181.

Τοις δ'

αὐτοῖς μὴ

τοῖς ἑσθλοῖς

τιμωμένοις

τοῖς δὲ

ἑσθλοῖς αὖτε

λαοῖς δὲ,

&c.

d Clem. Al.

Adm. ad.

Gent. p. 34.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ,

ὡς ἡμεῖς

αἰδοῦντες

αἰδοῦντες.

τοῦτον δὲ

τὸ ἀγαθόν

μα, &c.

e Pythag.

Carth. Pyth.

p. 231.----

Οὐδὲν, οὐ-

τὸς, &c.

though not by way of adequate comprehension, such a true and pure Idea of God, as is not discoloured by corporeal phantasms. But because you move in the lower sphere of fancy, you must be satish'd in your own way, and be instructed through a corporeal Image, or otherwise you will not admit of any Idea. The Jews of old were of that unreasonable temper, who although they had miracles wrought amongst them, exceeding great, (great as their own unbelief) yet would not they be contented without a signe from Heaven, such as was that of the descent of *Manna*, to which that Nation had, sometimes, been more accusom'd. But if this should naturally be in others, as it seemeth accidentally to be in you, the effect of poring upon points, and lines, and figures, to conceive nothing without a bodily image; *Archimedes* and *Euclid* should as soon, by me, be condemned to the flames, as *Aretine*, and any of the *Histoires Galantes*.

But because you stick in this lower Form of Imagination, I will therefore attempt to take you out such a lesson, as is most agreeable to you in that capacity.

Call to minde then, that you begin your natural Philosophy (a) from a feigned annihilation of the world, though you dwell not upon the notion of empty space remaining, but straightway fill it with the phantasms of all such bodies, as, before their supposed annihilation, you had perceived by your eyes, or any other instruments of sense. And I must note it by the way, that you except man onely from

a De Corp.

6.7.p.67.

this universal annihilation of things, and leave not God out of it, although his Idea implying necessary Existence, the not retaining of him, be esteemed by those of the School of *Descartes*, a contradiction. After this, you lay aside those phantasms, and (*b*) grant a conception of boundless space. You likewise maintain that body and space are not the same; and you conceive, though you do not assert, a *Vacuum*.

b. *De Corp.*
p. 8.

c. *De Corp.*
ib. *Secl.* 2.

Mr. *Hibbes*. No man (*c*) calls this phantasm, space, for being already filled, but because it may be filled; nor does any man think bodies carry their places away with them, but that the same space contains sometimes one, sometimes another body; which could not be, if space should always accompany the body which is once in it. — Place (*d*) is immovable; for

d. *ib.* c. 8.
p. 77.

seeing that which is moved is understood to be carried from place to place, if place were moved, it would also be carried from place to place, so that one place must have another place, and that place another place, and so on infinitely, which is ridiculous. And for the conceit of *Vacuum*, I say (*e*) that though between two bodies there be put no other body, yet if there intercede any imagined space, which may receive another body, then those bodies are not contiguous. I suppose also (*f*) that a finite body, at rest, when all space besides is empty, will rest for ever.

e. *ib.* p. 79.
Secl. 9.

f. p. 83.
Secl. 19.

Stud. Be it so. From hence it may be collected

lected, that you conceive of space, as of something without your minde, into which you suppose no notion can come but from some outward object. You conceive it as something, which doth exist betwixt two bodies, and hindreth the contiguity of them: for bodies are not therefore separated, because I so imagine; but because they are not contiguous, I have an imagination of their distance, and of something interceding. Seeing also you must acknowledge, that this Vacuity may be conceived, greater or less; you cannot imagine That as a meer nothing, which is capable of such affections. You then by consequence (though in direct terms you will not grant it) conceive this space as a phantasm of something; yet not of body, seeing you have said, one body may relinquish, and another possess, the same immoveable space: whereby it follows, that you apprehend it as a phantasm of such a Being as has largeness and penetration appertaining to it. Extend then your conception of this space indefinitely; and remember that you conceive the world, without any involution of body in body, placed in it; and that it may remain in your imagination after you have, by fiction, destroy'd the visible world; and that the imagined space is such, as you cannot disimagine; and observe at last, whether you have not attained, in your own way, to some competencie of fancying an infinite immaterial Being. For my self, I have been apt to think of space, as a phantasm of subtile body, really existing; and because I conceive this boundless

extention (by you suppos'd an inanity) as dull and unactive; and understand not how to deduce from it, or apply to it, the moral perfections which appertain to the Idea of God; I therefore suspend my sentence. But the Argument presseth your self, who distinguish the conceptions of space and body, beyond the probability of a Rejoynder.

If you were much concern'd for Authority, I would here suggest to you, that *St. Paul* affirms of God, that in him we live and move; and that it is said by *Theophilus Antiochennus*, (a) as also by *Tertulian* (the Author whom you your self celebrate) that God (b) is the place of all Beings. But touching the particular explication of such sayings, let every man abound in his own sence.

And now having spun out this first Subject of our Discourse, (concerning the immateriality of God) into such an undesigned length, I remember no Conclusion less improper for the winding of it up (if it may stand with your good liking) than the Apostrophe of *Arnobius*, which may, thus, be rendred: (c) 'O thou
'greatest and chiefest Creator of invilible
'things! O thou invilible Divinity, never to
'be comprehended by the scanty compass of
'created mindes! Thou art worthy, thou art
'truely worthy (if our unhallow'd mouths may
'presume to mention that transcendent worthi-
'ness) to receive from every understanding na-
'ture, never-ceasing praise; to be petitioned
'throughout our lives, (too short alas for such
'devotion) with the humblest prostrations: for
'thou

a Ad Au-
tol. l. 2. p.
81. 'Au-
T66 6-1
T66 6-1
T66 6-1
T66 6-1
b Tert.
adv. Prax.
p. 503. 4.
&c.

c Arnobius.
p. 17.

'thou art the First Cause, the Place and Space
'of Things, the foundation of the Universe, in-
'finite, unbegotten, immortal, eternal; whom
'no corporeal Image can describe, no circum-
'scription can determine.

We have dwelt long on this first head; and
it was necessary on my part to pursue it with
such a copiousness: for if this foundation of
the corporeity of all things had not been sha-
ken, your superstructures would have be-
come almost inexpugnable by Philoso-
phy. But this being rendred sandy and un-
sound, there will be the less work and strength
required to the demolishing of these, and so
in our proceeding, we may imitate (per-
haps) the descent of heavy bodies, making
the more haste, the further we go. I'm sure in
in our next Subject,

The Holy Trinity, we cannot speak much,
and well; it being a deep and revered My-
stery.

Mr. Hobbes. That Doctrine is entangled in
words, whereby there is little said of it intelli-
gibly. Hypostatical (*a*) is a name that signifies
nothing, but is taken up, and learned by rote
from the canting School-men. The (*b*) Do-
ctrine of the Trinity, as far as can be gathered
directly from the Scripture, is in substance, this,
that the God who is always one and the same,
was the person represented by *Moses*; the per-
son represented by his Son incarnate; and the
person represented by the Apostles. The true
God (*c*) may be personated; as he was, First, by

a Lev. c. 3.

p. 21.

b Lev. c.

42. p. 268,
269.

c Lev. c. 16
p. 82.

Moses, who governed the *Israelites*, (that were not his, but Gods people) not in his own name, with *Hoc dicit Moses*, but in Gods name, with *Hoc dicit Dominus*. Secondly, by the Son of Man, his own Son, our blessed Saviour *Jesus Christ*, that came to reduce the *Jews*, and induce all Nations into the Kingdom of his Father; not as of himself, but as sent from his Father. And thirdly, by the Holy Ghost, or Comforter, speaking and working in the Apostles; which Holy Ghost was a Comforter, that came not of himself, but was sent, and proceeded from them both. (d) *Moses* and the Priests, (e) the man *Christ*, and the Apostles, and the Successors to the Apostolical power, these three at several times did represent the person of God: *Moses*, and his Successors the High Priests, and Kings of *Judah*, in the Old Testament; *Christ* himself, in the time he lived on earth; and the Apostles and their Successors, from the day of *Pentecost*, to this day. God (f) is one person as represented by *Moses*, and another person, as represented by his Son the *Christ*: for Person being a relative to Representer, it is consequent to plurality of representers, that there be a plurality of persons, though of one and the same substance.

It is plain from Lev. pag. 210, 214, 215. that he means not a person by the H. G. but zeal. The voice of God in a dream. Gifts; the power of God working by causes to us unknown. e Lev. c. 33 p. 204, 205 f Lev. p. 206.

Stud. You surprize me here with such an explication of the Trinity, as has not been invented by any Heretick of the unluckiest wit, for these sixteen hundred years. And now I am guided after the manner of the multitude, whose curiosity leads them to see the deformed births

births and mishapen effects of miscarrying nature, rather than to contemplate the Master-pieces of the Creation : it is not so much the goodness; as the prodigiousness of this novel Doctrine, which enticeth me to consider it. And in truth, this conception of a Trinity seems to me more a Monster, than the head of *Cerberus*, (that is, death) it self : which head would have been call'd four-fold, if the fourth part of the world (*America*) had been, then, discover'd : but this conception, as will by and by appear, may multiply it self an hundred-fold, and be rather a Century, than a Trinity. There is also in it this inconvenience, that before the days of *Moses*, you must affirm one only Natural Person to have been in the Divine Nature.

Mr. *Hobbes*. There was but one : from whence we may (*a*) gather the reason, why those names, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in the signification of the Godhead, are never used in the Old Testament : for they are Persons; that is, they have their names from representing; which could not be, till divers men had represented Gods Person, in ruling, or in directing under him. Our Saviour (*b*) both in teaching and reigning, representeth (as *Moses* did) the person of God ; which God, from that time forward, but not before, is called the Father.

Stud. Where is now your will to pay a reverence to the Law, by whose Authority you are

e Anno
1650.

d Lev. p.
238. c.
H. Conf. p.
29.

are taught, in the first Article of the Church of England, that there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity? But you will say, that your *Leviathan* was published in those days (c) when the King by your Doctrine, was no King; when the Parliament having the Supreme strength, had for that very reason, (the reason which you give, and I may consider in its assigned place) the Sovereign Right, by which they preferred their own Ordinances, and the Constitutions of the Assembly, to the Canons and Articles of the Convocation. And indeed you have told us in that Book, (d) 'That you submitted in all Questions, whereof the determination dependeth on the Scriptures, to the interpretation of the Bible, authorized by the *Commonwealth*, whose Subject you were: that is to say, to the Annotations of the Assembly of Divines; wherein, no doubt, you might have read the Doctrine of an eternal Trinity asserted, seeing, in their shortest Catechism, 'tis not omitted. But Law and Scripture (like the servants of an hard and selfish Master) are used by you, whilst they have strength to serve your purpose; but when you cannot work your design by them, they are cast off with utter neglect.

e Lev. p.
361. c. 45.
Our Saviour was a man, whom we also believe to be God immortal.

But to proceed; you your self, together with the Law, have affirmed Jesus to be God-man; (e) and *Arrius* granted to him a duration before the world; and *Eusebius*, who had some favour for the *Arrian* Doctrine, supposeth him often to have appeared before, and under the times of the Law. And a very late Writer,

who

who has not fear'd in his Rhapsodie of Ecclesiastick Stories, (f) to deny the Eternal God-head of Christ, hath yet maintained it to be very dangerous, to deny his Pre-existence. There were then (and it follows from the sense of your own confession) at least two natural persons, of the Father and of Christ, before this world was founded.

f Sandius
in Enucl.
Hist. Eccl. l.
1 p. 299.

Further, if every one, representing the Person of God, in ruling or directing under him, addeth a person to the God-head, then may it be thence concluded, (as *Enjedinus* speaks (g) in relation to Pope *Alexander*, who would infer three Persons from the three Attributes of *Fecit, dixit, benedixit*, at the beginning of *Genesis*) that there are not only three, but six hundred. For all Civil Powers are Representatives of the King of the Universe; and you your self affirm, that any Civil Sovereign is Lieutenant of God, (a) and representeth his person. To speak with propriety, *Moses* was rather a Mediator betwixt God and the people, who were under a Theocracie; and not a Sovereign on earth; though, in some respect, he might challenge that Title; which also was once bestow'd upon him, he being called King in *Jeshurun*. And *Saul*, who was appointed them in the place of God, whom, in their unreasonable wishes, (out of an apish imitation of the Heathen Models) they had deposed, seems (in strictest speaking) the first Person representing God among the *Jews*. It is also to be noted, that the Apostles were Representers, not strictly of Gods Person, but of Christ God-man, from whom

gG. Enjed.
Exp. loc. 17.
& N.T. c 6
Trin. p. 2.

a Lev. c.
18 p. 89.

whom they received commission, in his Name, to teach and baptize, after all power was given to him. Wherefore the Clergy call themselves (under the New Testament) the Vicars of Christ, and not of God. But if you are not willing to multiply persons in the Godhead, by the number of Vicegerents, but chuse to understand this three-fold representation of a three-fold state of People, under *Moses*, Christ, and the Apostles, (which is yet an evasion, not at all suggested by you) even by this artifice, you will not find a back-door open, out of which you may escape. For besides that the Apostolical times are but the continuation of the state begun by Christ, and that the Reign of Christ at his second coming, will be a state perfectly new; we must remember, that there were two states before the days of *Moses*; the one to be computed from *Adam*, who in most eminent manner represented God, being appointed by him, Universal Monarch of the Earth: the other from the Revelation made to *Abraham*, who may be said the first person, with whom God made a formal Covenant, Sealed by the Rite of Circumcision, and, by Promises, guarded from violation.

Again, whereas you have affirmed that the Names of Father and Son, in the signification of the Godhead, are never used in the Old Testament, therein you consulted not your Concordance. For seeing Christ is called the Son, in the second Psalm, the cor-relative *Father* is as directly pointed out, as if the very name had, in Capital Letters, been written down. Neither

ther do I here create by my Fancie (as is the manner of such, who deal in Allegories of Scripture) a mystical sense ; because the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* (*b*) ha's expounded the words of our blessed Lord, and not of *David*. Saint *Matthew* likewise ha's made the same interpretation : if *Justin Martyr* was not deceived, either by his memory, or by oral Tradition, or a spurious Copy : for instead of those words from Heaven, (*c*) at the Baptism of *Jesus*, *This is my Beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*; he ha's in two places, (*d*) affirmed the voice to have been this, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. And with him agreeth *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who (*e*) repeateth the voice in the later words.

b Hebr. 1.

5.

c Math. 3.

17.

d Just.

Mart.

Dial. c. 11

Tryph. 9.

316. & p.

331.

e Clem.

Al. Padd.

1. c. 5. p. 92.

f Lev. 6. 32.

p. 193.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Let us not labor any longer in (*f*) in a particular sifting of such Mysteries as are not comprehensible, nor fall under any rule of natural Science. For it is with the Mysteries of our Religion, as with wholesome Pills for the sick, which swallowed whole, have the virtue to cure; but chewed, are for the most part cast up again without effect.

Stnd. The danger, in my opinion, ariseth not from the mastication of the Physick, but from the indisposed Stomach and Palate of the Patient, to whose health Religion conduceth more, when it is relished, by an uninfected Judgment, in the particular accounts of it, than when it is taken in the lump, by an implicate faith, which is a way agreeable, not to grown men,

men, but to children in understanding, whom we cannot satisfy, and must not displease. But because you seem not willing to intrude further into this mystery of the Godhead, considered in its self and persons, (which yet, as you would make it, is no more a Mystery, than if his Majesty should be called one Sovereign with three persons, being represented by three successive Lord-Lieutenants of *Ireland*;) let us descend to the consideration of the Godhead in its outward works; in which perhaps we may have surer footing; seeing Philosophers, unassisted by Revelation, have discoursed much upon

Our third Head, the Creation of the World.

a De corp.
c. 26. p.
306, 307.
Sect. 1.

Mr. *Hobbes*. The Questions about the magnitude of the World (a) (whether it be finite or infinite) or concerning its duration, (whether it had a beginning, or be eternal,) are not to be determined by Philosophers. Whatsoever we know, that are men, we learn it from our phantasms; and of infinite (whether magnitude or time) there is no phantasm at all; so that it is impossible either for a man, or any other creature, to have any conception of infinite.

Stud. You prove not here, that a man can have no conception, but only that he can have no image of an infinite Cause: whereas it has been already shewn, and may hereafter be evinced from the immateriality of Mans Soul, that

that all conceptions and Ideas, are not phantasms, or arise not from them. But whilst you plead the difficulty of conceiving an eternal being in reference to the Creation, you elsewhere (f) admit of an Idea, difficult enough; for you can feign in your minde that a point may swell to a great figure, such as that of man, (and this you say (g) is the onely Idea which we have at the naming of Creator) and that such a figure may again contract it self into the narrowness of a point: hereby you admit of a natural phantasm of Creation out of nothing, as also of re-annihilation; for all the supposed points besides that first, which is just commensurate to so much space, can neither arise out of that one, nor shrink into it. and whereas you add that you cannot comprehend in your minde, how this may possibly be done in nature, (b) of which before you granted a phantasm which ariseth from real impulse, if all be Body; it is as much, as if you had said, you can, and you cannot, comprehend it. And I cannot but here admire it in a man who pretends to a consistencie with himself, that you should allow the abovesaid phantasm, and yet reprehend it as a principle void of sense, (i) and which a man at the first hearing, whether Geometrician or not Geometrician, must abhor; (the which notwithstanding the learned Lord Bacon (k) did imbrace) that the same Body, without adding to it, or taking from it, *In corpore eodem non dubitatur, quin copia materiae multiplicetur pro mensura corporis. — In uno dolio aquae, decuplo plus materiae, quam in uno dolio aëris, &c. Vidi p. 12, 29, 33, 76.*

f De Corp.

c. 8. p. 84.

Self. 20.

g Obj. 10.

p. 101.

h De Corp.

p. 84. ib.

i Epist. Decl.

before six

Less. p. 3.

k Hist. Den.

si & Rari,

p. 4. 5. —

is sometimes greater and sometimes less. But to return to the conception of an eternal Cause, though it be not possible to have an Image of God, yet it is easie by the help of Reason, from the Images of things we see, to climb by degrees above the visible World, to the eternal Creator of it. Curiosity or love of the knowledge of Causes, does draw a man (as you will grant) (k) from consideration of the effect, to seek the Cause; and again the cause of that Cause, till of necessity he must come to this thought at last, that there is some cause, whereof there is no former cause, but is Eternal, and is called God.

4 Lev. c. 11
p. 51.

1 De Corp. c.
26. p. 307.

Mr. Hobbes. Though (l) a may man from some effect proceed to the immediate Cause thereof, and from that to a more remote Cause, and so ascend continually by right ratiocination from cause to cause; yet he will not be able to proceed eternally; but wearied, will at last give over, without knowing, whether it were possible for him to proceed to an end, or not.

Stud. We are not, as you imagine, wearied in this ascent of our Reason, upon the several roundles of second causes to that which is eternal. for we pass not through every single cause and effect; but, like those who search their pedigree no farther, than their great great Grandfather, yet say, they at first sprung from *Adam*; we view some immediate causes and effects, and consider that there is the like reason of

de-

dependencie, in the rest, and thence, as it were, leap forward unto the top of this *Jacob's Ladder*, and arrive at the acknowledgement of an eternal, immoveable Mover.

Mr. Hobbes. Though from this, that nothing can move it self, (*m*) it may rightly be inferred, that there was some first eternal Mover; yet it can never be inferred (though some use to make such inference) that that Mover was eternally immoveable, but rather eternally moved: for as it is true that nothing is moved by it self, so is it true also, that nothing is moved, but by that which is already moved.

Stud. Here you proceed not with such consistence and scrupulous ratiocination as becometh a Philosopher: for if nothing be moved by it self, then to say an eternal Mover is moved, is to say, that that Eternal is not Eternal: for there is something presupposed to give it motion, and another thing foregoing and causing that motion, and so on, in *infinitum*. Yet you acknowledge in your Book (*n*) a first Power of all Powers: but at the present, your reasoning is connected with your beloved notion of a corporeal Universe. For Matter can never move, but by that which is moved, and so forward, not to an eternal Cause, but in an endless Circle, which yet in some part must have had a beginning: for here the question will return; How came the sluggish Matter, which cannot help it self, to have motion at

*m De Corpore
c. 26. p. 307*

*n Hum.
Nat. p. 13.
Lev. c. 12,
53.*

o Cum in
verum na-
turā dū
sit que-
renda, u-
num, que
materia sit
ex quā
queq; res
efficiatur;
alterum,
que vis sit,
que quidq;
efficiat;
de materia
differunt
Epicurei;
vīm & cau-
sam efficien-
di relinqui-
runt.
p De Corp.
p. 307.

first imparted to it, if there were not an eter-
nal incorporeal self-moving minde? wherefore
you are, again, involved in the condemnation
of the Epicureans, of whom *Cicero* in his first
De Finibus (o) has left this pertinent observa-
tion. There being two things to be inquired
after in the nature of things, the one, what the
Matter is out of which every thing is made;
the other, what is the force or motion which
doth every thing: the Epicureans have reason-
ed concerning Matter, but the efficient Power
is a part of Philosophy which they have left un-
titled. So little of Reason in this Article
of the Creation, is on the side of some men,
who would monopolize that honourable
name,

Mr. *Hobbes*. Natural Reason is not so much
concerned in this question, because (p) so much
cannot be known, as may be sought. the que-
stion, about the beginning of the World, is to
be determined by those that are lawfully au-
thorized to order the worship of God. for as
Almighty God when he had brought his peo-
ple into *Judea*, allowed the Priests the First-
fruits reserved to himself; so when he had de-
livered up the world to the disputations of
men, it was his pleasure that all opinions con-
cerning the nature of infinite and eternal
known onely to himself, should (as the First-
fruits of Wisdom) be judged by those, whose
ministry he meant to use in the ordering of
Religion. I cannot therefore commend those
that boast they have demonstrated, by reasons
drawn

drawn from natural things, that the World had a beginning.

Stud. Where finde you the Supreme Civil Magistrate (for him you mean) to be constituted a Judge of true and false? then would the Truth be as inconstant, as the Opinions of those Powers; who, being thronged with employments, have, of all men, the least room left for speculation. The Great Turk, who has made the *Alcoran* to be Law, has there affirmed, that two verses in *Surata Vacca*, (q) were made by God Almighty, two thousand years before the World was framed, and written by his Finger; and all Christian Princes, who determine the Bible to be the Word of God, have thereby determin'd, that such Stories are absurd Fables. If you had so stated the Power of Princes, as to have ascribed a right to them, not (as you now have done) of determining questions (that is, of resolving them into true negations or affirmations) but of restraining the tongues or pens of men, from venting what they esteem inconvenient for Society; I know few men of my Order, who would with any vehemence have become your opposers, provided always that this Power be meant of such Opinions, as subvert not natural or Christian Religion: for it is as necessary at all times to profess such Articles, as it is to make profession that we are not Atheists; the necessity of which may, hereafter, be proved.

q Ap. Hol-
ting. Bibl.
Orient. p.
108, 109.

Mr. Hobbes. I have so done, as you require, I
E 2 should;

r H. Confid.
p. 35.

should; for in my Letter to Dr. *Wallis*, (r) since his Majesties return, I have upon second thoughts, restrained the decision of Authority to the publication, and not the inward belief of Doctrines. I say, there, that these opinions about the Creation, are to be judged by those to whom God has committed the ordering of Religion; that is, to the Supreme Governours of the Church; that is, in *England* to the King. By his Authority, I say, it ought to be decided, (not what men shall think, but) what they shall say in those questions.

s H. Conf.
p. 34.

Stud. In this question of the Creation, you seem too bountiful to Authority; seeing by your own concession, the affirmative is a point so very fundamental, that all natural Religion, if that be taken away, will be removed: for in the Epistle before mention'd, (f) you doubt not to affirm, that, as for arguments from natural Reason, no man has hitherto brought any one, except the Creation, to prove a Deity, that had not made it more doubtful to many men, than it was before. Wherefore it follows, that whilst you attribute unto the Civil Magistrate a Right of binding men, if he shall so please, to profess this falsehood, that the World had no beginning; you also ascribe unto the same Magistrate, a Right of banishing the Profession of a Deity out of his dominions.

r H. Conf.
p. 35.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Why do you (t) style the King by the name of Magistrate? Do you finde

finde Magistrate to signifie any where the person that hath the Sovereign Power, and not every where the Sovereigns Officers?

Stud. Although you are here guilty of an excursion, yet I am content to follow you, not being ignorant how soon you are out of breath in pursuing any Game started in Philology. And first, I will grant it to you, that if we have regard to the nicest application of the Word, at some times amongst the Romans, it will not so elegantly agree to the Supreme Power. For in the fourth Book of *Cicero* (or rather *Cornificius*) *ad Hærennium*, (u) the Magistrate is said to be employed in the execution of such Decrees, as were made Law by the Senate: And I have read in *Varro*, (x) that the Officers inferiour, to the *Magister Populi* or Dictator, and *Magister Equitum*, were by way of diminution call'd *Magistratus*; as from *Albus*, *Albatus*: and yet I am assured that *Cicero* sometimes us'd the word Magistrate in such a sense as derogates not at all from the super-eminence of Kings: for in his third Book *De Legibus* (y) we have this sentence; "The Magistrate is a speaking Law, and the Law is a mute Magistrate. and a while after citing the words of the old Roman Law, he stileth the Consuls, Magistrates, and the Office Magistracie: and yet he sheweth, that the Consuls at first had Regal and Supreme power (z).

But seeing Custom since the days of *Cicero*, has otherwise applyed divers words; and see-

u P. 2. 9.
Sect. 35.
Senatus officium est,
concilio Civitatem ju-
vare; Magi-
stratus of-
ficium est,
curâ &
diligentiâ
consequi vo-
luntatem
Senatus.
X De Lin-
guâ Lat.
l. 4. p. 15.
Sect. 14.
y Cic. l. 3.
de Leg. p.
1204.
z See Cic.
de offic. -- 2
igitur pro-
priam mu-
nus Magi-
stratus, in-
telligere &
gerere Per-
sonam Civi-

ing that from a diverse administration of affairs, and from new inventions, and other Causes, there have arisen new words also; those persons who will precisely speak, with *Cicero* and the old Romans (every of whose words and phrases, cannot be thought extant in the fragments now in our hands;) they rather betray their own affectation, than declare themselves Masters of Propriety of Language. Whilst *Castalis* useth *Jova*, *Tindio*, *Genius*, *Sanctè colatur*; instead of *Jehovah*, *Baptismus*, *Angelus*, *Sanctificetur*, he seems to study rather neceness, than true cleanness of Latine. The word Magistrate is not forced, when it is used in expressing the Supreme Power; for *Magisterare* in *Festus* (a) is glossed by *Regere*. your own Champion *Tertullian* (who well knew how to speak, with the Laws) interprets (b) *ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ* by *Magistratus*; and *ἀρχον* denoteth sometimes so great a Power, that it is spoken of the very Prince (c) of the Powers of the Air. that Learned Person had, in the abovesaid place, an Eye to the Government of the *Assenians*, which, after the succession of Kings failed at the death of *Codrus*, was administered by Thirteen Magistrates called *Ἀρχοντες*, of which the first was *Medon*. Cavil not now at the number of these Rulers; for how many soever the persons are in such a Senate, the Supreme Authority (d) is but one.

If you require modern Authority, the Testimony of *Hugo Grotius* is beyond just exception and he acknowledgeth, that *Summus Magistratus* (e) is used commonly in denoting the

a De Ver.
fig. p. 308.

b Tert.
adv. Hermog. v.
240. Sect.

19.
c Ephes. 2.
2. see Rev.
1. 5.

d Lev. p.
89. Man,
or Assembly
of men,
having the
Sovereign-
ty.

e Hugo
Grot. de
Imo. sum.
Pot. circa
sec. 2, p. 2.
§. 1.

Sovereign Power; although he approves not of it for exact Roman, and nice Latinity. Lastly, Magistrate is a word, in the sense in which I use it, used also in the Law of King and Church, with which we Englishmen are to speak, rather than with the Twelve Tables, or the Prince of Orators. Recal then to your mind the thirty seventh Article of the Faith professed in *England*: that Article, though it consisteth in declaring the power of the King, in affairs both Civil and Ecclesiastical, yet bears the Title, *Of the Civil Magistrate*.

But I have busied my self too long in a nicety of words, which improve the memory, but give not much advantage to the nobler faculty of Reason. It is time then, that we look back upon our main Subject, the Creation of the World. If you have any further matter to deliver, in relation to that Subject, I am ready to attend you and it.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Something I have to say, but there is little coherence of it, with our former discourse. I add however, (seeing you seem to have required something more) that upon supposition of the Being of a God, it follows not that he created the World. (*f*) Although it were (*g*) demonstrated, that a Being infinite, independent, omnipotent, did exist; yet could it not rightly be thence inferred, that a Creator do's exist also. Unless a man should think, that because there is a Being, which we believe to have created all things, therefore the World was created by Him.

(*Vide Obj.*
57. 97. in
conclus.
8 Obj. 10.
p. 101. De
Corp. c. 26.
p. 307.
Whether we
suppose the
World to be
finite, or in-
finite, no
absurdity
will fol-
low.

Stud. Seeing dependent Nature is so far removed from a power of making, that it cannot so much as move it self, but will, if once moved, be without impediment in perpetual motion; and at rest always, if once at rest, without fresh impulse from some neighboring body; and that it is evident, that it is mov'd, and in excellent order, we must of necessity, have recourse to a Creator: and because we suppose already in the Idea of God, such infinite Power, as excludes the like power from all things else, it cannot but follow, that there being a World, He was the Maker of it. Seeing by the Hypothesis, the impotent World exists, and an infinite power also; who else can be imagined this Omnipotent Architect? In this particular you might have learnt the Truth from a person, (a) in some Articles, of a suspected Creed, who hath, in this manner, declared his judgment. "Doubtless (said he) those who will have God to be the Eternal Principle, yet not, the Author of the World; have thought too jejune concerning God. For these Triflers can neither feign that the World was produced without any cause, nor excogitate a better than the most high God.

a E. B. H.
de Relig.
Gentil. c. 13
de Deo sum.
no. p. 158.

This absurd Assertion of such Triflers, puts me in mind of *Heraclitus*,^c who having denied that any of the Gods were Creators, subjoyned also, that neither had any man created the World; fearing (says *Plutarch*, in a dry jest) lest after he had overthrown the power of the Deities, we might suspect some mortal man had

had been the Author of such a Master-piece. The like consequence is natural from the attribute of Divine Wisdom, which being infinite, can appertain but to one Essence. If then the World be made in number, and weight, and measure, it is demonstrable from thence, both that there is (*b*) an eternal Geometer, as also that if such an one existeth, the World, which could not so frame it self, was his Artifice. And doubtless, the disposition of the parts of the greater World, and even the œconomy of the parts of the lesser, that of man, implying most wise designs, do necessarily inter (*Gassendus* himself (*i*) confessing it) the being of a Creator. We need not search further, than to some one particular Note in the situation of the heart, which is a kind of Box containing many wonders one within another. It is to be observed, (*k*) that in man, and in almost all such Animals as live of flesh, the situation of the heart is not in the center, but in the superior part of the Body, that it may the more readily convey to the head a due portion of Blood. For seeing that the trajection and distribution of the Blood, dependeth wholly upon the Systole of the heart, and that the liquor cast forth, does not so easily ascend, as it flows into vessels parallel or inferior; if the seat of the heart were more removed from the head, the head would be rendred impotent for want of Blood, unless the heart were framed with a far greater strength, whereby it might with more potent violence, force up its liquor. But in such Animals whose neck is extended by Nature, as it were,

h Mirab. Pecc. p. 8. Landam q; r. as, Eternæ Geometæ, Artes.

i Gass. in l. 1c. Diog. Laert. p. 696.

k D. Lower de Motu Cordis, p. 2, 3

were,

were, on purpose to meet their provisions, the heart is placed without any prejudice in the center; because the head being frequently pendulous, the blood runs to it in a wide and daily supplied Channel. This is but one instance of those millions, in Nature, of miraculous contrivance: Neither use I it, as one which exceedeth the rest, but as that which lyeth uppermost in my memory. Go now (that I may bespeak you in the way of *Gassendus*) (1) and applaud your wit, in saying that that was done by chance, which could not have been more wisely contrived.

I Gass. ubi
supra.

I nunc, &
dic casu id
factum,
quod non
potuit sa-
pientia fi-
eri.

a De hom.
c. 1 §. 4.

Mr. Hobbes. In this Argument, I my self, in my Book *de Homine*, have not denied the frame of nature to argue design; and I have there delivered my Opinion, in these words. (a) *Ad sensus procedo: satis habens, si huiusmodi res attigero tantum, planius autem tractandas aliis reliquero; qui si machinas omnes tum Generationis tum Nutritionis satis perspexerint, ne tamen eas à Mente aliquà conditas ordinatasq; ad suas quasq; officia viderint, ipsi profectò sine Mente esse censendi sunt.*

Stud. Seeing thus much is acknowledged from you, in reference to the Body; how great may that conviction be (of the existence of a Creator) which ariseth from the consideration of Souls and Angels; whilest Thought is much more admirable than motion, and incorporeal spirit, than matter.

Mr,

Mr. Hobbes. Incorporeal Substance is (*b*) a
 note which you shake too too often; and here,
 with much absurdity: For, to say, (*c*) an An-
 gel or Spirit is an incorporeal substance, is to
 say, in effect, there is no Angel or Spirit at all.
 The Universe (*d*) being the aggregate of all
 bodies, there is no real part thereof that is not
 also body. The substance of invisible Agents
 (*e*) is by some conceived, to be the same with
 that which appeareth in a dream; or in a
 Looking-glass, to them that are awake. But the
 opinion, that such Spirits were incorporeal,
 could never enter into the mind of any man
 by Nature: However, that name will serve
 our purpose, for the introduction of the

b *Ans. to*
Pres. to
Gondibert
p.87.

c *Lev.c.34*
p.214.

d *Lev.c.34*
p.207.

e *Lev.c.12*
p.53.

Fourth head of our Discourse, *The Nature of*
Angels.

Stud. I perceive that, in many opinions, you
 are a man by your self, and, in this particularly.
 For you seem, by denying Intelligencies or In-
 corporeal Angels, not only to contend with
 some despised Philosophers, but to encounter
 almost the whole world.

Mr. Hobbes. It is true, (*f*) that the Heathens,
 and all Nations of the world, have acknow-
 ledged that there be Spirits, which for the most
 part they hold to be Incorporeal; whereby it
 might be thought, that a man by natural rea-
 son may arrive, without the Scriptures, to the
 knowledge of this, that Spirits are; but the er-
 roneous collection thereof by the Heathens,
 may

f *Hum.*
Nat.c.11.
p.138,139.

g Hum.
Nat. p. 138.
Suff. 5.

may proceed from the ignorance of the Causes of Ghosts and Phantasms, and such other Apparitions : that is to say, (g) from the ignorance of what those things are, which are called *Spectra*, Images that appear in the dark to Children, and such as have strong fears, and other strange imaginations.

h Lev. c. 34
p. 211, 212

By (b) the name of Angel, is signified generally a Messenger; and most often, a Messenger of God; and by a Messenger of God, is signified any thing that makes known his extraordinary presence; that is to say, the extraordinary manifestation of his Power, especially by a Dream, or Vision.

That Angels are Spirits, is often repeated in Scripture; but by the name of Spirit is signified both in Scripture, and vulgarly, both amongst *Jews* and *Gentiles*, sometimes thin bodies, as the Air, the Wind, the Spirits vital, and animal, of living Creatures; and sometimes the Images that rise in the fancy in Dreams and Visions, which are not real substances, nor last any longer, than the Dream or Vision they appear in; which Apparitions, though no real substances, but accidents of the brain; yet when God raiseth them supernaturally, to signify his will, they are not improperly termed Gods Messengers; that is to say, his Angels.

And as the *Gentiles* did vulgarly conceive the imagery of the brain, for things really subsistent without them, and not dependent on the fancy, and out of them framed their opinions of *Demons*, good and evil; which because they seemed to subsist really, they called substances;

stances; and because they could not feel them with their hands, incorporeal: So also the *Jews* upon the same ground, without any thing in the Old Testament that constrain'd them thereunto, had generally an opinion (except the Sect of the *Sadduces*) that those Apparitions (which it pleased God sometimes to produce in the fancy of men, for his own service, and therefore called them his Angels) were substances not dependent on the fancy, but permanent Creatures of God; whereof those which they thought were good to them, they esteemed the Angels of God, and those they thought would hurt them, they called evil Angels, or evil Spirits; such as was the Spirit of *Python*, and the Spirits of mad-men, of Lunaticks and Epilepticks: for they esteemed such as were troubled with such Diseases, *Demoniacks*.

But if we consider the places of the old Testament, where Angels are mentioned, we shall find, that in most of them, there can nothing else be understood by the word, Angel, but some Image, raised (supernaturally) in the fancy, to signify the presence of God, in the execution of some supernatural work; and therefore in the rest, where their nature is not expressed, it may be understood in the same manner. Concerning Spirits, (*a*) which some ^{a Hum.} call incorporeal, and some corporeal, it is not ^{Nat. 7. 136.} possible, by natural means onely, to come to knowledge of so much, as that there are such things.

Stud. Touching the incorporeal nature of Angels, I will evince the necessity of it, by proving (when we come to examine the nature of mans Soul) that matter is not capable of Cogitation. At present, I will consider your two Assertions now delivered; that the existence of Angels, as permanent substances, is not to be collected from natural Reason; and that the Writings of the Old Testament speak not in favour of such Doctrine.

Concerning the first, it is wont to be said, that strange presages of mind, and warnings in Dreams; wonderful effects in men snatch'd away, and mountains and buildings removed and demolished, by power invisible; real apparitions to many men at once; predictions of Oracles; confessions and exploits of Wizards, and Witches, do by natural argumentation, prove the existence of Angels: as also that these are apt instruments, to beget terror in the minds of wicked men, in order to their speedy reformation.

b Lev. c. 6.
p. 25.

Mr. Hobbes. I know, that from fear (*b*) of Power invisible, feigned by the mind, or imagined from Tales publicly allowed, ariseth Religion; not allowed, Superstition.

Stud. If these be meer Tales, the publick allowance of them cannot make them to become Religion. For God, being infinitely powerful and wise, refuseth to be served by the effects of folly and ignorance; neither standeth he in need of pious frauds and stratagems, wherewith

to bring to pass his holy designs ; for they are arguments of impotency in those who use them ; and the truths of Religion appear most genuine, when there is due trial made of them, by exposing them to the light. But if these things which I have mention'd be Tales and Fables , (the thoughts of which do often shake the higher Powers , who are said to feign them) then the faith, almost of mankind, is call'd in question ; the manifest proofs at publike and solemn trials (in *Lancashire* and other Places of *England*) with which our undoubted Records abound , are causlessly despised ; and the most knowing persons are accused of credulity or imposture. These Stories have not been merely believed by children , and short-sighted people, but by *Socrates*, *Plotinus* , *Synefius* , *Dion*, *Josephus*, *Pomponatius*, *Cardan*, and (his Transcriber) *Cesar Vanine* , and divers others , not ideots in Philosophy, nor yet some of them zealots in Religion. *Cardan*, a man who would speak liberally of himself , not dissembling his very follies and vices , has, in his Life written by his own hand, (*a*) spent an whole Chapter, in discouraging about his good Genius : and therein he insisteth upon such evidences, as made it manifest to him that his Imagination did not impose upon him. He also fore-told (*b*) the year, and day of his death ; which , because some will not allow to have been done by skill, they have said, that by starving his body, he effected it ; becoming a self-destroyer, to gain the reputation of a Prophet. If there may exist such Inhabitants of the Air , (and there is no-

thing

a *Card. de*
vita prop.
c. 47. p. 263

b *Thuan.*
ad Ann.
1576. p.
136.

thing in nature, which doth hinder such Beings, more than it doth the existence of understanding creatures upon earth; and there is reason enough to perswade us that all Regions of the Universe are, some way, peopled) why should it then seem incredible, that they sometimes bestow a visit upon mortal men? Were all Body and Matter, the air, as well as earth, might be folded into shapes, which think, and direct their motions at pleasure. Although some Stories are hatch'd in Chimney-corners, or in the ditturbed imaginations of fearful people, and are told by such as love to hear themselves talk, and to be believed, and are of easie confutation; it followeth not thence, (though it be the common reason) that all are fables. Then, as is usually said, all Histories would be condemned, because there is such a vast crowd of Romances, which multiply with the number of idle and sensual persons; and your *Thucydides* would fall into the dis-repute of *Amadis de Gaule*. I could tell of one, who wearing good Clothes, and denying the existence of real Wizards and Witches before vulgar Judges, and by staying in his Chamber from Church, procured, amongst the people, the esteem due to a man of a shrewd head-piece, and one that saw behinde the Curtain; though I am well confirmed, that his ignorance was the Mother, and his laziness the Nurse of his in-devotion.

Mr. Hobbes. Necromancy, VVitch-craft, Charming and Conjuring, (the Liturgy
(a) of

(a) of Witches) is but (b) juggling, and confederate knavery. The Priests (c) at *Delpbi*, *Delos*, *Ammon*, were Impostors; the Leaves of the *Sibyls*, (the Fragments of which seem to be the invention of latter times) and the Prophecies of *Nostradamus*, are from the same Forge.

a Lev. p. 54
b Lev. c.
12. p. 56.
c Ibid. more
at large.

Stud. For the *Sibyls*, the learned D. *Blondel* has not ineffectually cast away his studies, in relation to my self. Concerning Oracles, although I understand by divers Authors, and particularly by *Thucydides*, (d) that they gave some Answers dubious, and others false, and divers true, but such as a prudent man might have return'd, out of deep insight into civil affairs; yet, without a suspicion of ancient *Historians*, too uncharitable, I cannot prevail upon my minde to think, that the Priests had no assistance from *Demons*. I know not what other judgement to make of the Answer, which the *Pythia* (e) gave to *Crassus*; an instance, to which scarce any one under the *Fetula* is a stranger. He enquir'd at *Delphos*, touching the proper means for the loosing the tongue of that beloved Son of his, who was apt for every thing, besides speech. The *Pythia* returned answer, that there was no great reason for his solicitousness about the dumbness of the Child, seeing when he should first speak, the hour would be unhappy to his Father. The event was agreeable to the prediction, his Son first crying out, when *Sardis* being taken, *Crassus* was ready to fall by the

d See *Thucyd.* p. 68,
77, 82.
113, &c.

e Herod.
Clio. p. 39.

/ Lev. c. 12.
p. 59.

2 Jul. A.
p. 9. op. p.
181. Epist.
38.

inglorious hand of a common *Persian*. I could, if you requir'd it, produce strange Instances, in times not so remote from our own; a good while after the coming of our Lord; notwithstanding that you have asserted, (f) that in the planting of the Christian Religion, the Oracles ceased in all parts of the Roman Empire. *Marcellinus* would have undeceiv'd you; and even *Julian* the Apostate, who in his works, is frequent in the mention of present Oracles; and particularly, in an Epistle to *Maximus* the Cynic, (g) (which being private, and to a Philosopher, doth argue, that he wrote as he believ'd): He there tells *Maximus*, (who was brought into some danger under *Constantius*) that he had consulted the Gods concerning his estate, being far distant from him, and solicitous for his welfare; and that he could not do it, in person, but by others, not being able to hear immediately, as he suspected, ill tydings of his friend: as likewise, that the Oracle had return'd answer, that the Philosopher was in some trouble, but not pressed with such extremity, as giveth unnatural counsel.

a cent. 2. p.
20. Quart.
51.
Le sang du
juste à Lon-
dres fera
sante, Bra-
vez par
fondres de
vingt trois
les six, &c.

Touching *Michel Nostradamus*, Physician in Ordinary to *Henry* the Sécônd of *France*, I have read his Centuries, with very little edification. Yet, when I remember, that in sixty six, I beheld *London* in the Flames, I know not how to despise that *Stanza* of his, (a) which, if it has not satisfied our reason, I'm sure it has astonished the imaginations of many. But whether he spake the words, and we

contriv'd the sense, I leave under debate. But be these things as they will ; this I am enough confirmed in , that such, as publickly deny Witch-craft, are sawcie affronters of the Law, and therefore, for their opinion (which rather establisheth irreligion, then promoteth the faith) they ought to be chastiz'd from those Chairs of Justice, which they have, reproachfully, stain'd with the blood of many innocent and misper-swaded people.

Mr. *Habbes*. As for Witches, (*b*) I think *b* Lev. 24. not that their Witch-craft is any real power; *P. 7.* but yet that they are justly punished for the belief they have, that they can do such mischief, joyned with their purpose to do it, if they can.

Stud. I have heard it elsewhere said, ^{*c* Dram. Pers. p. 4.} (*c*) that our Witches are justly hang'd, because they think themselves so; and suffer deservedly for believing they did mischief, because they meant it.

But methinks, that Law were to be accused of unreasonable severity, which should take away the life of those, knowingly and deliberately, who before they make confession of their inefficacious malice, are in no sort hurtful to the Common-wealth, which is not concerned in our thoughts; and when they make confession, not of any evil practices, but of their delusions of distemper'd fancie, appear to be possessed with madness rather, than a *Demon*, and ought rather to be provided for in *Bedlam*,

d 1 Jac. c.
12.
e Lev. c. 19.
p. 101.

than executed at Tyburn. But could we grant it to be a piece of justice; yet would that evasion be too thin to shelter those from the censure of the Law, who (as I think) do most insolently revile it, by denying all real confederacie with *Dæmons*. For the Statute of King *James*, (d) (whom you somewhere honour with the attribute of *most wise*) (e) condemns to death onely such Authors of Echantment and Witchcraft, as are convicted of real effects: And it is not Felony without Clergy, (though it be imprisonment, with shame of the Pillory) to attempt, to tell of stolen goods, or to destroy or hurt mans body by Conjurati-on. The Statute also mentioneth the making Covenants with some evil and wicked Spirit, as a practice granted and notorious.

But passing from the Law of our Sovereign, to that of *Moses*, let us

Second y, Consider, whether, thereby, you are not also condemned, in the Article of the permanent substances of Angels.

a See Epist.
cop. Inff.
Titel. l. 4.
c. 2. p. 347.

It is thought by learned men, that *Moses* and the Prophets had so conspicuously taught the Being of Angels, (a) that the very *Sad- duces* denyed, not absolutely the existence of such Spirits, but their natural Being and duration; conceiving, by their appearing and dis-appearing on a sudden, that God had created them, upon account of some extraordinary Embassie, and the service being done, reduced them to their first nothing.

The old Testament describes Angels by such
Of-

Offices, of standing before the Throne of God, and ministering perpetually to the Favourites of God, (b) as shew, at once, their unfancied existence, and their permanencie. It were a vo'uminous labour, to recite each Authority in the old Law; and it were also a superfluous one, seeing the bare instances of *Lot* and *Abraham* are so pregnant with evidence, that no reason can overthrow it, though a boisterous impudence may turn it aside.

b See Dan. 7. 10.
Psal. 34. 7.
Psal. 68. 17.
Psal. 91.
11, 12. com-
pared with
Matt. 4. 5.
Luk. 4. 10.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Why (c) may not the Angels that appeared to *Lot* (d) — be understood of Images of men, supernaturally formed in the fancie? — That (e) to *Abraham*, was also of the same nature, an Apparition.

c Lev. c. 34
p. 212.
d Gen. 19.
e Lev. c. 36.
p. 227.

Stud. The Angels sent to *Lot* were not meer Phantasms, for the Text seems as much an Historical Relation, as any passage in the Acts and Monuments of Gods Church; the very History of the Passion scarce excepted. And in truth you have bidden very fair towards a phantastical Cross, by affirming our Saviour to have been (f) tempted in a Vision. Were that true, it would be but a faint encouragement, which the Author to the *Hebrews* (g) thought a sufficient motive to animate our hopes in the day of the spiritual battle; to consider with our selves that our Saviour imagined himself to be tempted, and therefore will succour us that are really tempted. *Sculptetus* (b) was (i) betray'd into this

f Lev. c. 43.
p. 354.
g Heb. 2. 18
h In delic.
Luz. 4.
i See Deut. 22. 3.

error by his mistake of the Greek word rendered a Pinacle; having read, it seems, in *Josephus*, that the Pinacles of the Temple were so very sharp, as not to sustain a bird without piercing its feet. Whereas *πτερύγον*, signified a Battlement of the Temple, a support case and sufficient; on which St. *James* the Just was placed, and thence, by the violence of bloody men, was thrown down headlong.

¶ Lev. ix. --
No man
shall high-
enough to
show him
one whole
Hemisphere.

And for your self, you (*k*) fell into this conceit by interpreting the Term, *World*, in its larger sense. that word, as likewise the *ὀικουμένη* of St. *Luke*, doth not, always, signify the Universe, but sometimes the habitable earth; in which acception *ὀικουμένη* is, often, the *ἡ γῆ* of the Septuagint. sometimes it is restrained to the Roman Empire; as in the Decree of *Augustus* for taxing the whole world. Sometimes it is understood of a great part of it, as in the Relation of the Famine, in the reign of *Claudius*, which is foretold to be *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ὀικουμένῃ*. and why, in this hyperbolical narration, may it not signify the Land of *Palestine* (a place, sometimes of very many Kingdoms) the whole glory of which might, as in a mapp, be seen, in the places, at, and about *Jerusalem*? Some (whose opinion I barely relate) comparing together the tenth of St. *Matth.* v. 23. and chap. 24. v. 14. have restrained the *ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ὀικουμένῃ*, in the latter place, unto the Land of *Canaan*. But to return (if this be a digression from our business in hand) to the Instance of *Lot*. It is to be noted that not onely *Lot*, but all his Family, and likewise divers of the impure *Sodomites*

Sodomites, at the same time, beheld the Angels. There were also such effects, concomitant and remaining (such as were amongst the rest, Striving and Blindness) as do manifest that the Angels were real, and substantial Messengers. But if it shall be said, that this whole affair was acted, meerly in the scene of Imagination; it will thence follow (by a consequence bold and impure, as the very sin of *Sodom*) that God Almighty infus'd into the *Sodomites* such bewitching Images, as were proper to enkindle in them unnatural Lusts, and then condemn'd them to thick darkness for pursuing such Fancies as were his own Off-spring.

The Angels that appear'd to *Abraham*, outwent the power of Fancie, feasting themselves upon real food, and not being entertain'd as at an Imaginary Banquet of Witches.

Now, for the New Testament, to collect the several places, were with *Samson*, to multiply heaps upon heaps. That divers mention'd under the name of *Demoniacs* in the Scripture, were men disturbed by Melancholy, and possess'd with the falling-sickness, is not denied by me, and hath been publicly asserted (a) long since, by a very eminent Divine. But to conclude that all were such, is to do violence to the holy Text, and our own Reason in the interpretation of it; and, thereby, to render our selves as mad as the persons we discourse of. It soundeth untowardly to say, that Epilepsies and Phrensies (b) should beg leave of Christ to go into swine; and being cast out or cured, (that is, annihilated, as such, by the change of

a Mr. Mede
Book 1.
p. 37, 38,
39.

b See Mat.
8. 28, 30 32

figure and motion in the vessels, blood, and humors) should after this, be able to enter into the herd, and to hurry them into swift destruction.

Yet, of Possessions there may be room for scruple in many cases; and *Galen* mentions a Disease, under the horrid name of *Σαυβρίον*, as I have learnt from *Peter Martyr*, in his Discourse upon the Melancholy of *Sanl.* But touching the existence of Angels, there is no place left for the Sceptick in the Gospel.

c Mat. 14.
20.

The Disciples (c) seeing our blessed Lord, when he walked upon the Sea, supposed him to be an Angel. They would not hereby mean a Phantasm, because he was seen by many of them at the same time, whose differing fancies and motions of brain, cannot be reasonably supposed, in this juncture, to have conspir'd. And therefore I cannot commend that interpretation of *Episcopius* (d) which he made upon a passage in *St. Luke* (e); conceiving that Christ, surprizing the Disciples, after his Resurrection, was judg'd at first by them a meer Spectre, and not a real Angel; it being utterly improbable that the same Spectre, or Phantasm should arise, at the same time, in the brains of all the eleven, without some outward object dispensing its influence to them all.

d Episc.
Inst. Theol.
p. 347.
e Luk. 24.
33, 34.

Go now, and say, that the Apostles were not men of so clear an apprehension, in this matter, as your self, being smutted with dark Doctrine of *Demonologie* amongst the *Greeks*. But what evasion is sufficient, when you read the History of the Deliverance of *St. Peter*? Concerning whom

whom the Spirit of God affirmeth expressly (a) that it was done, not in a Vision, but by the real efficacy of an Angel, commissioned by God.

a Act. 12.
9. And he
went out
and follow-
ed him, and
will not

that it was true which was done by the Angel; but thought he saw a Vision.

b Lev. c.
34-p. 214.

Mr. Hobbes. Considering (b) the signification of the word *Angel*, in the Old Testament, and the nature of Dreams and Visions that happen to men by the ordinary way of nature; I was enclined to this opinion, that Angels were nothing but supernatural Apparitions of the fancie, raised by the special and extraordinary operation of God, thereby to make his presence and Commandments known to Mankind, and chiefly to his own people. But the many places of the New Testament, and our Saviours own words, and in such Texts, wherein is no suspicion of corruption of the Scripture, have extorted from my feeble reason, an acknowledgment, and belief, that there be also Angels substantial, and permanent. But to believe they be in no place, that is to say, no where; that is to say, nothing; as they (though indirectly) say, that will have them incorporeal; cannot by Scripture be evinced. I add also (c) that concerning the Creation of Angels, there is nothing delivered in the Scriptures.

c Lev. p.
211.

Stud. The Scriptures affirm of Angels, that they are permanent Substances, they also make them inferior to God; and they ascribe to God the

d Col. 1.
15, 16.

e Ephes. 1.
21, 22.
comp. with
Hebr. 1. 3,
4, &c. to
the end.
f Col. 1. 20
g Hom. ad
Hex. 1. Vi-
de Hein-
su Proleg.
in exer. p. 7.

the creating of all things, besides himself, and therefore, by apparent consequence, they affirm of Angels, that they were created. If an expresse testimony be required, the *Jews* will tell you, that *Moses* (of whose secret *Cabal* they think themselves the chief) understood those words of his, especially of Angels, when he said of God, that *In the Beginning he created the Heavens*. But the words of *St. Paul* have seemed to me, of more easie and particular application. *Christ* (said (d) that great Doctor of the Gentiles) *is the Image of the Invisible God, the first-born of every creature; for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers: all things were created by Him, and for Him*. These words must be interpreted of Men and Angles, from the importance of the phrase in other places of *St. Paul*, (e) and from the mention of procured reconciliation, or recapitulation, which appertains not to the other parts of the upper or lower World. (f). Wherefore *St. Basil the Great* (g), after those words, *ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ*, addeth, (as if they appertained to the Text,) *ὅτι ἀγγέλων κτιστά, ὅτι ἀρχαγγέλων ἰπικαστά.*

If any man here replieth, that because our Saviour took not hold of Angels, became not God incarnate to reduce them, and by his blood to soften and loose their Adamantine chains; it seems, therefore, absurd to apply this Text to those invisible Orders: he may be satisfi'd by taking notice of the proper signification of

ἀποκαταλλάξαι, in that Verse : and this will be best done, by observing the agreement betwixt this Chapter, and the first to the *Ephesians* ; of which Epistle this to the *Colossians* is said , by by *Crellius* (a) and some others , to be a Compendious Rehearsal. the seventh Verse of the first to the *Ephesians* , answereth to the fourteenth of the first to the *Colossians* ; and the tenth of the first, to the sixteenth,

a Crel.
Com in Ep.
ad Col. 7.
528.

and twentieth, of the other (b).

We are then to observe that ἀποκαταλλάξαι, in the Epistle to the *Colossians*, is the same with ἀνακεφαλαιῶσαι, in that to the *Ephesians*.

And *Irenæus* (c) citing that, amongst other Texts in the first to the *Colossians*, useth this second, and not that first Greek word. Now κεφαλαιον, signified first a sum of Money, and afterwards

b Grot. in 1 Ephes. 10.
Certe ut pleraq; Epistole
ad Colos. cum hac Epist.
congruant, ita & locus
iste (Col. 1. 16.) hanc
lucem adferre, & vicissim
ab eo lucem mutuari videtur.

c Iren. l. 1. c. 1. p. 16.

was applied to any Collection. And we speak not improperly when we say, A Captain recapitulates his dispersed Soldiers into a Troop. So that, hereby, is set forth, that Sovereignty over men, and Angels, which was acquired by the Death, Resurrection, and Ascension, of the Captain of our Salvation, to whom, as Head and Lord, the whole body of them is referred ; and under whom they shall not contend, as of old the Angels of *Persia* and *Græcia* are said to have done.

Mr. *Hobbes*. For Angels, be they permanent, created, substances, be they what they will ; this I am sure of, that I have no Idea of them.

When

d Object. 3. When I think of an Angel, (d) sometimes the Image of Flame, sometimes of a beautiful Cupid with wings, comes into my fancie; which Image, I am confident, is not the similitude of an Angel; and therefore is not the Idea of it.

e Object. Hobb. *ibid.* p. 97.
Sed credens esse creaturam aliquam Deo ministrantem, invisibiles, & immateriales; rei creditæ, vel suppositæ nomen imponimus Angelum, &c.

But (e) believing that they are certain Creatures ministring to God, invisible, and immaterial; we impose upon the thing believed or supposed the name of Angels; whilst in the mean time, the Idea under which I imagine an Angel, is compounded of the Idea's of visible things.

Stud. You here again are blindly fallen into the old mistake of an Idea for an Image. If we suppose an Angel to be an understanding Essence, either not united vitally to Matter, or only to the purest Æther, and conceive it employed in such offices as are in Scripture ascribed to it, we have a competent notion of it, and that is an Idea.

But of these Invisible Powers above us, methinks we have spoken largely enough, considering their Nature, as also the season of the night: if we pursue our Subject much longer, the morning will break in and affright away the Ghosts we talk of.

*When Goddess, Thou lifts up thy wakened head
 Out of the Morning's Purple bed,
 Thy Quire of Birds about thee play;
 And all the joyful World salutes the rising Day.*

*The Ghosts, and monster-spirits, that did presume
A Bodie's Priviledg to assume,
Vanish again invisibly,
And Bodies gain agen their visibility.*

So said the best of *English* Poets, in his *Hymn to Light*.

Mr. *Hobbes*. A Poet may talk of Ghosts ; but I'm sorry you think that we have been seriously discoursing about them ; for then , it seems, we have talk'd about nothing. It is not well that we render spirits, by the word Ghosts (*b*), which signifieth nothing, neither in heaven nor earth, but the imaginary inhabitants of mans brain. b Lev 34. p. 210.

Stud. *Gast*, or *Geast*, whence Ghost, is a good old *English* word , and signifieth the same with spirit ; and I could produce *Verstegan* (*c*) to avouch it. The word is good , and the Poetry excellent ; and since I am fallen upon it , I think it will not be amiss , if we unbend a little , and refresh and smooth our spirits with some Poetick numbers , and dismiss our severer Reasonings 'till the morrow. And now , it comes into my mind , that I have about me, your Verses of the *Peack*, which are most agreeable to the place and circumstances , in which we have been ; and in repeating which, I might be satish'd concerning some expressions , and particularly that of

*c Versteg.
Ant. &
Prop. of the
Ant. En-
glisb
Tongue,
p. 220.*

——— (*ni nos Tibi concolor Author
Fallat*).

Mr.

Mr. H.
Stigmai,
p. 14.

Mr. Hobbes. For (d) my Verses of the Peak, they are as ill in my opinion, as I believe they are in any mans; and made long since ——— I will, by no means, hear them.

Stud. Then let us get on the other side of our Curtains, without any Epilogue at all; for I begin to be as heavy as if the Mines of this Shire had a powerful influence upon me. I would have been glad to have diverted the humour a little with something pleasant, that we might have concluded, as the *Italians* advise, *Con la bocca dolce*. But I will force nothing upon you, against which you shew reluctancie. Sir, I return you thanks for your Conversation; and I wish you, most heartily, good night.

a Concluf.
of Mr.
Hobbes of
lib. & ne-
cess p. 80.

Mr. Hobbes. Sir, (a) praying God to prosper you, I take leave of you, and am your humble Servant.

The end of the First Dialogue.



of
for
this I
hu-
we
wife,
up-
Sir,
and

of-
ni-

Stud. I thank God, I slept so soundly, that the passed time is esteemed by me long, upon no other account, than that it hath kept me some hours, from debating such further matters in Philosophy and Religion, as we at first propounded.

1

Stud. I am ready to wait upon you; and
set-

setting aside the time of sleep as nothing, to connect this part of our life with that, wherein we were awake, conferring about Angels: and because we said as much as we intended upon that Subject, let us descend to the

Fifth Article, which concerns those Beings next in order, the *Souls of Men*. of them I would gladly hear your thoughts, seeing it is a matter which relates, so closely, to the greatest interest of man.

a Leviath. cap. 45.
p. 373.
 Soul or Life.
b Lev. p. 29.
c Lev. p. 1.

Mr. *Hobbes*. By the Soul; I mean (*a*) the Life of Man; and Life it self is but motion, (*b*) so that the Soul or Life (*c*) is but a motion of Limbs, the beginning whereof is in some principal part within.

Stud. By this means you will make of man an excellent piece of Clock-work; which though you have been hammering out, more than thirty years, may methinks, (like the artificial man of *Albertus Magnus*) be broken in sunder in a moment. I know that you may set the Wheels of your Machin a goings but what is there *within*, that shall understand when it goes well or ill, or feel and number the repeated strokes? You mean surely, by your description, the mechanism of the Body set on work, and not the Soul perceiving its operations.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Perception or Imagination (*d*) depends (as I think) upon the motion of

d Obj. 4.
 p. 96.

Cor-

Corporeal Organs; and so the minde will be nothing else but a motion in certain parts of an Organized Body.

Sind. If you can clearly and distinctly both explain and prove that which you have now proposed in gross, you shall then be esteemed that great *Apollo*, whom every one that has feigned any singular Hypothesis, does, in the absence of good Neighbours, boast himself to be.

Mr. Hobbes. Before I undertake this, I will remove out of your way that prejudice which you may have against the notion of the Soul as consisting in Life, by proving (most effectually to an *Ecclesiastick*) that the Scripture giveth countenance to my definition. The Soul (*b*) in Scripture signifieth always, either the life, or the living creature; and the Body and Soul jointly, the body alive. In the first day of the Creation, God said, Let the Waters produce *Reptile animæ viventis*; The creeping thing that hath in it a living soul: the *English* translate it, *That hath life*. And again, God created Whales, *Et omnem animam viventem*: which in the *English* is, *Every living creature*. And likewise of Man; God made him of the dust of the Earth, and breathed in his face the breath of life; *Et factus est homo in animam viventem*; that is, *And man was made a living creature*. And after Noah came out of the Ark, God saith, *He will no more smite, Omnem animam viventem*; that is, *Every living*

b *Leviath.*
c. 44. pag.
339, 340.

creature. And *Dent. 12. 23.* Eat not the blood, for the blood is the soul; that is, the Life. From which places, if by Soul were meant a substance incorporeal, with an existence separated from the body; it might as well be inferred of any other living Creatures, as of Man —

Stud. To argue from one sense of an equivocal word, to the universal acceptance of it, becomes not a man of ordinary parts. *Nephefch*, Soul (as well as *Kuach*, Spirit) is a word of various signification in the Old Testament; and in many places it denotes (a) will, lust, or pleasure. We read in the *Psalms* (b) this phrase — ‘To binde his Princes *Benaphsch*, according to his soul, or at his pleasure. And again, ‘Deliver me not *Benephefch*, unto the soul, or will of mine Enemies. VVhen the word is improperly attributed to God in Scripture, this usually is the sense of it. You would now esteem me absurd enough, if I went about to infer from hence, either that the essence of the Soul consisteth in Will and Pleasure, or that the Deity had a Soul, that is Life, that is Motion: the Soul being the Spring of bodily life in man, it might, by an easie Metonymie, be used (as in the recited places) in expressing Life. In that place where the Blood is call’d the Soul or Life; it was not the designe of *Moses* to set forth, Philosophically, the inward essence of a Beast; but to let the people understand, that the blood of a Beast, which was sprinkled upon the Altar, being

a See *Maimon. more, Nev. p. 1. c. 41. p. 59.*
 b *Psal. 105. 22. & Psal. 27. 12.*
 See *Jer. 8. 15.*
Judg. 1. 10, 16, &c.

an embleme of the life of Man forfeited through disobedience, and an instrument in expiation; they should abstain, out of reverence to that Mystery, from a rude quaffing and devouring of it.

But what answer have you in readiness to those places, where the Scripture speaks distinctly of Body and Soul?

Mr. *Hobbes*. Body and Soul is no more than Body and Life, or Body alive. In those places of the New Testament (c) where it is said, *c Lev. 44.* that any man *shall be cast body and soul into bell-* P. 340.
fire; it is no more than body and life, that is to say, they shall be cast alive into the perpetual fire of *Gebenna*.

Stud. Your Gloss is extreamly wide of the unwrested meaning of the holy Text. For our Saviour (d) counselleth his Apostles *not to fear* *d Matt. 10.*
them that can kill the body, but are not able to kill 28.
the soul; making a manifest distinction thereby betwixt the Soul and the Life of the Body: for if the Soul were nothing but the Life of the body; it were in the power of every man to kill our Souls, unto whose sword and malice our lives lay open. And thus you see, instead of removing truth, which in me you call a prejudice, you have laid a stumbling-block in the way, an occasion of falling into error.

But let us leave the explication of Scripture, in which you are, for the greater part, unhappy, and attempt the explication of the exalted

mechanism of Living man, wherein you have laboured so many years, and concerning which you have raised the expectations of many.

a Lev. p. 3.

Mr. Hobbes. The cause of Sense (a), is the external body, or object, which presseth the organ proper to each sense; either immediately as in the Taste and Touch; or mediately as in Seeing, Hearing and Smelling; which pressure by the mediation of nerves, and other strings, and membranes of the body, continued inwards to the brain and heart, causeth there a resistance, or counter-pressure, or endeavour of the heart to deliver it self; which endeavour because outward, seemeth to be some matter without; and the seeming or fancie, is that which men call Sense.

b Ar. de
An. 3. c. 2.
Oute ué
2 av évu
évu ôlé.
as
c 17 de A-
ristot. Me-
taph. 1. c. 3.
Héôô
2 av 71 78
3 av 2 av
718 éidn
évu évu.

Stud. You do not here at all surprize me, as if some new Philosophy for the main, not heard of, in former ages) had, to your immortal renown, been first discover'd by you. For it has been said of old, that, All variety of bodies ariseth from motion, and that Sensation is a perception of that manner in which impressing bodies affect us. For Aristotle (b) hath recited an ancient saying of Philosophers, who holding that Phantasms were not the things themselves, but onely in our Senses, express'd their opinion by asserting, that there was no blackness, without sight. (c) And Des-cartes in his Meteors, published in French, together with his Method, Dioptriques, and Geometry, al-
most

most forty years ago (c), explained the nature of Colours, Light and Vision, otherwise than by intentional Species; and told us that by cold and heat, are to be understood perceptions occasioned by the less or more vehement touch of little bodies upon the capillaments of the nerves which serve in our organs to that purpose. Yet I am not tir'd in hearing such Hypotheses repeated or varied: please then to proceed, and if it liketh you, particularly in the explication of the nature of Vision, wherein the Doctrine of Phantasms is most concern'd.

c A 12th,
1637. la
Diapt. p. 5,
&c. des Me-
teor. Disc.
prem. p. 101,
162.

Mr. Hobbes. In every great (d) agitation or concussion of the brain (as it happeneth from a stroke, especially if the stroke be upon the Eye) whereby the Optick-nerve suffereth any great violence, there appeareth before the Eyes a certain light, which light is nothing without but an apparition onely; all that is real, being the concussion of motion of the parts of that nerves from which experience we may conclude that apparition of light is really nothing but motion within — — and image and colour is but an apparition to us of that motion, agitation, or alteration which the object worketh in the brain or spirits, or some internal substance in the head.

d Hum.
Nat. p. 11.
&c.

Stud. It seemeth to me that all this while you have describ'd the Apparatus for Sensation, and not the inward Substance which hath a faculty to perceive that it has been variously

Art. 5. *Concerning an Immaterial Soul in Man,* pressed by Objects. *Aristotle* (a) enquiring how the first principles of Knowledge should be Images; doth cut in sunder rather than untie the knot, by saying, that in truth they are not Phantasms, yet not without them. And *Des-cartes*, supposing Beasts without a Soul, does therefore, notwithstanding the curious workmanship of their Machin, not much inferior unto Mans, deny that they have Preception; but onely move, as the Dove of *Archytas*, or the Eagle of *Regiomontanus*. I enquire, then, not after the instruments of Sensation, but the Substance perceiving: Neither do I, yet, understand, after all your words about it, what is properly sense.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Sense (b) is a Phantasm, made by the Re-action and endeavour outwards in the Organ of Sense, caused by an endeavour inwards from the Object, remaining for some time more or less.

Stud. There is not onely excited in the Brain an apparence of the Object, but also a perception of that Image or apparence; as all, who have their Senses, finde by daily experience. If Impressions were, not onely Instruments, but acts of Sense; might we not strongly argue, that a Looking-glass saw, and a Lute heard?

But, to descend unto particulars; I will endeavour to make it evident, that neither Sense, nor Imagination, nor Memory, nor Reason, nor Will, can ever become the results of moving
and

and rebounding Matter, without the presence of an Immaterial Minde.

First, Sensation is not made, neither can it be, by the meer re-action of Matter. It would thence follow, That every part of the World, being capable of moving and rebounding, is also, so often as there is this counter-pression, sensible. Then the springs of all Engines, the Elastic air, resisted wind, and an echoed voice, are so many perceiving Essences.

Mr. Hobbes. I know, (c) there have been Philosophers, and those learned men, who have maintain'd that all Bodies are endued with Sense. Nor can I see how they can be refuted, if the nature of Sense be placed in Re-action onely. And, though by the Re-action of Bodies inanimate a Phantasm might be made, it would nevertheless cease, as soon as ever the Object were removed. For, unless those Bodies had Organs, (as living Creatures have) fit for the retaining of such Motion as is made in them, their Sense would be such, as that they should never remember the same. And therefore this hath nothing to do with that sense which is the Subject of my Discourse.

c De corp.
p.293.

Stud. Let us debate this matter at large, seeing it is not unworthy of our labour. Consider then, that Corporeal motion, in all things (as in water) ariseth not further, in its effects, than the Spring-head of its own causal Energy.

Mr. Hobbes. It is (a) confessed, that Motion a Lev.p.3.
produceth nothing but Motion. G 4 *Stud.*

Stud. Then the part counterpressed, being still only moved, it doth not perceive either that, or how, it self is moved; unless Motion be the perceiving of it self; the apprehending of Motion, and of all the varieties of Motion; which is a phrase of greater significancie than any you have noted amongst the *Aristotelians* or School Doctors. In whatsoever Matters we are at difference, I'm sure we are of the same judgment in th s, That a Body at rest, will (b) always be at rest, unless there be some other body, which by getting into its place, suffers it no longer to remain at rest. So that Matter, in its own Nature, is thoroughly dull and stupid; and in receiving Motion it is meerly passive; for a Body, when moved, only suffers it self to be crouded from a first place to a second.

b see de
Corp. p. 151
Lev. p. 4.

c De Corp.
c. 3. Art.
10. & also
p. 150. de
Corp.

Mr. Hobbes. In that also, we differ not; for (c) Motion is by me defined, to be the continual privation of one place, and acquisition of another.

Stud. How then does passive Matter, by being crowded more slowly or swiftly, containing in its own Idea only impenetrable extention, obtain an infused power, from that Motion, to perceive that it is crowded, and in what degree, and thereby also, to have an active Conception of the varieties in Nature?

But what availeth Rebouncing to the very act of Sense? for to have Re-action, is no more than for passive matter to be thrust first forward,

ward, and then backward. And why then may not the part which is crouded forward, perceive as well in proceeding from one term in a right line, as in receding from the other term? the difference not consisting in any Physical causality, but in relation, or respect to divers Terms? the purest parts of the Blood thrust forward to the spinal Marrow, have the same virtue imparted to them, as, when they are beaten backward towards the Retina, in relation to the object of Sight; if we suppose their force unbroken and unaltered. The difference is respective, as in the way which leads from *Cambridge* to *London*, the way is the same; and the Hackney coming to *Cambridge*, may be almost, as well imagined to be wiser, when he is whipped and spurred back towards *London*, as that a part of the Matter thrust from the influence of the Object into the Brain, may be thought more to perceive in its return to, ^{a Hum. nat.} the Optick-nerve, than in its direct course (a). ^{p. 4. The Interior Coat of}

the Eye is nothing else, but a piece of the Optick-nerve; and therefore the Motion is still thereby continued into the Brain; and by resistance or re-action of the Brain, is also a rebound into the Optick-nerve again, which we not conceiving it as such, call Light.

The like Arguments are to be used against Fancie or Imagination, as a material attribute; it being but a Perception of Phantasms, (especially in Vision) when the Object is removed. Here we must say again, that, A perceiving of an Image, and a perceiving that it still dwells with us; and a perceiving that we perceive it; that

b Hum.
Nat. p. 13.

that is to say, a feeling of a Motion, and a knowing that we feel it, and in what manner in the Organs of Sense; is not the Motion it self which we perceive we feel: and yet, Motion is all that is introduced into the Senseless, Unactive, Matter, and not any new Principle capable of perceiving Motion. For Motion, as was granted, begets nothing but Motion. You have somewhere (b) said, That Colour is but an *Apparition to Us*, of that Motion, Agitation, or Alteration, which the Object worketh in the Brain or Spirits, or some Internal substance in the head: should you proceed and say, That such Motion, Agitation or Alteration, in the part, is the Sense or Fancie perceiving that Motion, Agitation, or Alteration, that is, it self, (which yet is your Opinion in varied Terms) you would surely grate the Ears of the veriest Ass in Nature.

And here the Argument is of stronger conviction, than in sense. For if a part of Matter moved, perceives not that Motion, when the Object presseth by an immediate influence; much less is it capable of so Doing, when Motion in the Spirits, or Nerve, or Membrane, is subject in short time to languish, and to lose its degree of swiftness, or its determination, by the Encounters of fresh Pressures from without, or endeavours from within, which are numerous and almost perpetual.

Farther; you have admitted of the feign'd conceit of *Vacuum* in Nature; which you apprehend not as a Phantasm of subtil Matter extended, but conceive a perfectly void space

be-

between two Bodies. Of this, you can have no Sensation, because there is no object to press into the Brain. You have no proper Imagination of it; for, of Nothing there is no Image. But you have an Idea, or Perception, or in your own word, a Phantasm of it: this Phantasm (by an Argument *ad hominem*) overthrows the opinion of Imagining, or Fancying Matter, whilst it ariseth from the Negation or Privation of it. But that which is of greater strength, is a Reason taken from the disproportion of some Images to the Material Sentient, and the manner how the Image conveyeth it self to the perceiving Matter. We have within us, an Image of the Sun, about two foot in Diameter: were the whole Head the Imagining Subject, it would be no more capable of so wide an Image, than a common Wafer is, of the Broad-Seal. Besides, we may consider, that in the Sentient-Body, each part of it has either the apparence of the whole Image, or of a part. If, of the whole, then seeing every part of Body is Body, and the smallest Atom we can see is resolved further into its parts, and those into their parts without end; it will follow thence, that we shall have an apparence not of one only Sun, but of more, perhaps, than we have of fixed Stars in the widest and clearest view of the Face of Heaven. If of a part, then we perceive no whole Image, or entire Apparence; but have as many singular Perceptions broken and divided, as parts in the Image or Percipient: If in any part of the Percipient, all the Impressions

are united ; then are the parts of the Image confounded by so doing ; and the parts of the Percipient by communicating their Motion have lost all their Sense : neither is there a part which has not parts ; so still the Image will be infinitely multiply'd, or not entirely seen.

The next Faculty, is that of Remembrance, which is not to be ranked amongst Mechanical Powers. I enquire then, what Faculty perceiving the Image in the Brain, perceives also that the Object is removed ; and how many hours it hath been absent ; and when there ariseth a like pressure from the same Object, discerneth that such a pressure was formerly made ?

a De Corp.
c. 25.
p. 290.

Mr. Hobbes. By (a) what Sense (say you) shall we take notice of Sense ? I answer, by Sense it self, namely, by the Memory which for some time remains in us of things sensible, though they themselves pass away : for he that perceives that he has perceived, remembers.

Stud. I understand that there may remain a quivering in the Retina, Choroeides, and whole *Pia Mater*, or in the Spirits, after the Object of Sight is removed, whole presence occasioned a more stiff pressure. We see the like in extended and moved Nets and Ropes, and a thousand other Examples in Art and Nature : but this trembling in them, as also in such Machines where the Motion may be more entirely and longer imprisoned, does soon vanish. Whereas the Re-action must remain extremely
long,

long, in such Men (for Instance,) who at the
seventieth year remember most perfectly , and
will repeat with pleasure, the passa-
ges of their School-play (a) even
those who retain not the things
more newly passed. To tell how
this can be explained by the meer
Mechanism of the Brain , which
has received many millions of changes in it
itself, and Re-actions occasion'd from the Ob-
jects of every Hour, requires a more skilful
Oedipus than has yet pretended to unriddle the
Secrets of Humane Nature. But if we suppose
the Motion remaining in the Brain (which you
call Memory) , there is no satisfaction given to
the Question : in which , proceeding further,
we demand , By what Power do you perceive
this remaining Motion , as formerly, caused,
and now continuing ? for to say, that the Mo-
tion of the Brain is Perception of that Motion;
and that Motion remaining , is the Perception
of remaining motion ; and that decaying is a
perception of the remaining yet decaying mo-
tion ; and that this decaying motion is a Per-
ception that it was a brisker Vibration in time
past ; (whilst all these motions suppose a fa-
culty pre-existing , or newly produc'd and
apprehensive of them ; which , being the issue
of motion, cannot be more apprehensive than
its Parent) to say all this , is to pile up ab-
surd speeches unto the very height of Non-
sense ; and I have done them too much ho-
nour, whilst I have taken such frequent notice
of them:

a Iren. *Epist ad Florin.*
p. 510. *Αἱ γὰρ ἐν
παλαιοῦ μαθήσεως συν-
αἰετοῦται τῇ ψυχῇ, ὡς
καὶ αὐτῇ, &c.*

I again inquire of you, whether, sense and imagination, and memory, being motions, phantasms, perish, or are transformed as an impression upon the stamp of new arms, when the rebounded motion perisheth, as to the brain; or is altered there?

a De Corp.
c. 25 p. 291
S. 1.

Mr. Hobbes. Phantasms (a) or Idea's, are not always the same; but new ones appear to us, and old ones vanish, according as we apply our organs of sense, now to one object, now to another; wherefore they are generated and perish. And from hence it is manifest, that they are some change or mutation in the Sentient. Now all mutation, or alteration is motion, or endeavour; and endeavour also is motion, in the internal parts of the thing that all is altered.

Stud. If then, motion ceaseth, memory also vanisheth away.

Mr. Hobbes. It is confessed. And I have said already, That unless bodies had organs (as living Creatures have) fit for the retaining of such motion as is made in them, their sense would be such as that they should never remember the same.

Stud. If then Oblivion seizeth on us, that is to say, in your sense and phrase, if the Motion be removed from the Sentient; when the Organ is again moved by the same Object, there

there ariseth a new Motion, and a new Sensation, but no Remembrance that we were formerly thus moved; because the Sentient has onely had Motion as it had at first; the old is perished. We finde by common experience, that when something has escap'd our Memory for many years; (suppose, the name of a Person in story), we turn our Dictionaries, we chime over all syllables we can think of; we use all endcavours to rub up (as we say) our Memories, and perhaps in vain.

Mr. *Hobbes*. This is Re-conning. And our thoughts run (*a*), in the same manner, as one would sweep a room to finde a Jewel; or as a Spaniel ranges the field, till he finde a scent; or as a Man should run over the Alphabet, to start a rime. *a* Lev. p. 10

Stud. This business of the Brain is set on work, by the Will or Desire, and so far from being caused by Mechanick impulse, that it is occasioned by a Privation, or, in your way, by the missing of parts (*b*).

But, to connect my Discourse to those words wherein you interrupted me; when, after all rubbings up of Memory, we despair of finding this much-sought Name, at last, perhaps by accident we espie it on a Monument, or Medal, or in a Book; or hear it, or something of like sound with it, pronounced by another; straightway there ariseth in us not onely a Perception of this Name, by this new Motion which is the whole Mechanick causality; but also a know-
ledge

b See Hum.
Nat. p. 27,
28.

ledge that this was the groat we swept for, the Name sought after, and a rejoycing in the discovery. The sound was not able to produce in us any other Image than we had of old, when we first read or heard the word; by what token then could it be known to be the lost Name found, if memory be performed without an immaterial soul?

Having mentioned Oblivion, I will go on, by shewing, that, according to your Princip'es, almost every thing would be as deeply, and as soon forgotten, as I wish your Doctrines were, concerning God, and his Angels, and the souls of men.

Attend then to the meaning of *Heraclitus*, who was wont to say, That no man bathed twice in the same River; and of a Modern Physician who hath told us, That no man sits down the same to a second meal. The spirits, which with the greatest reason, are supposed to be most the soul, and to rebound (because it is not so proper to say, That the Nerves and Membranes rebound from the Spinal Marrow to the *plexus retiformis*) are always shifting postures and places, and many of them transpire daily, whilst new parts of the blood are exalted and conveyed into their room. In Children, the Organs are changed by accession of parts; and in all, in the space perhaps of less than seven years, the whole Sentient, whatsoever it is, is, for the main vanished, though the Texture be alike, as was the form of Structure in the Ship of *Theseus*. How then, (as *Raimundus Martini*, argueth

eth [a]) can any person feel himself, after seventy years, to be individually the same, if he be not endued with a Spiritual and Incorruptible Soul, which remaineth the same intirely throughout that space; but consisteth onely of a body in Motion, with perpetual flux of Parts? Or by what fetch of wit can it be explained, how the new-added Matter, by new pressure, can remember what was

perceived by the former, whose Motion is scattered with it self? If we should suppose the Parts to remain, and yet the Motion to have perished, it is all one to them, when they are moved by a fresh impulse, as if they never had been moved but at that time. Now that the Motion perisheth daily in effect, that is, that it so far varieth in its degrees and determinations, as not to be in capacity of representing the Object, as it did in its unchanged condition, will I think be concluded by premises, by your self, laid down. Do you not, then, not onely ascribe to the several Senses, proper Organs, and in them proper parts which have animation; but also affirm the Heart to be the common seat of Sense?

a Raim. Mart. pug. Fidei, par. 1. c. 4. pag. 165. *Ipsam esse illum quoque, nunc, qui fuit tunc, est firmissima mentis ejus conceptio: hujusmodi ergo essentia ejus non est complexio, que ab illo tempore forsitan est plus quam millesies permixta.*

Mr. Hobbes. The Heart (b) is a common Organ to all the Senses; whereas that which reacheth from the Eye to the roots of the Nerves, is proper onely to sight. The proper Organ of Hearing is the Tympanum of the Ear, and its own Nerve, from which to the Heart the Or-

b De Corp. c. 25. S. 10. p. 301.

H

gan

gan is common. The proper Organs of Smell and Taste are nervous Membranes ; in the Palate and Tongue, for the Taste ; and in the Nostrils, for the Smell ; and from the roots of those Nerves to the Heart , all is common. Lastly, the proper Organs of Touch are Nerves and Membranes dispersed through the whole Body ; which Membranes are derived from the root of the Nerves. And all things else belonging alike to all the Senses, seem to be administered by the Arteries, and not by the Nerves.

Stud. The Spirits, then, moved in Vision by the Object, return by counter-pressure to the Retina, and from thence by such Arteries as
 b *ibid.* ad you make conjecture of (b), unto the Heart,
init. the source of Spirits.

c *Hum. Nat.*
 c. 7. p. 69.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Conceptions (c) and apparitions (which are nothing really but motion in some internal substance of the Head) stop not there ; but the motion proceedeth to the Heart.

d *Lev. 2. 25.*
 c. 6.

And as in sense (d), that which is really within us, is onely motion, but in apparence, to the sight, light and colour ; to the Ear, sound, &c. --- So when the action of the Object is continued from the Eyes, Ears, and other Organs to the Heart ; the real effect, there, is nothing but motion or Endeavour, which consisteth in Appetite, or Aversion, to or from, the Object moving, but the apparence or sense of that motion, is that we either call delight, or trouble of minde.

Stud. It is then, impossible to remember,
 seeing

seeing the motion, in passing to the heart, and in being in the heart, (whilst it is dilated, in receiving blood from the *Vena Cava*, and contracted, in forcing what is receiv'd into the habit of the body) must needs be either communicated to other parts already in motion, or encreased by the receipt of motion from such infinite parts of blood jutting with it, or at least, varied once and again in its determinations, rebounding often from divers terms: wherefore it must be suppos'd to perish; not properly indeed, seeing no motion is lost any other way than money is said to be lost when it passeth from one Gamester to another, but to all the intents and purposes of representing the Object; which, to awaken a new Sensation, must come into the brain by a new Impulse. So that motion in the blood, from the Impression of an outward Object, is like that of water, by a stone cast in; it is propagated from one circle to another, till at length it passeth undiscerned into a forreign subject.

But it is time to hasten our pace in the present Controversie: In which, I could not, to say truth, have been very brief, if I had but made a short rehearsal of the very heads of such Arguments as overthrow the Doctrine of thinking matter.

Let us, then, pass by these lower powers of sense, and fancie, and memory; and consider the more advanced faculty of Reason; and here we shall perceive, by the manner of mental working, that Reason is a power superiour to Imagination, and much more to all the

a Medit. 6.
p. 36.

causality of corporeal pressure. For (as *Descartes* (*a*) has, with acuteness, and truth observed) we otherwise think of or understand a Triangle, and a figure of a thousand Angles. When we think of a Triangle, we not onely understand a figure comprehended by three lines, but also we have a Perception, or Image of those three lines in our Brain; and that is Imagination. But when we think of a Figure of a thousand Angles, we as perfectly, by our Reason understand, that it consists of a thousand sides, as we perceive the other to consist of three; but we cannot imagine those thousand Sides and Angles after the same manner that we did the three; that is, behold them as distinctly pictur'd in our Brain, as present in a Phantasm. And although, by reason of the custom which we have gotten of imagining something as often as there is mention made of a corporeal subject, we may perhaps represent to our selves some confused figure, at the hearing the foresaid figure named; yet it is plain, that this is not the image of a figure of a thousand sides and Angles, because it is in nothing differing from that image of a figure which I should represent to my self, in thinking of a figure with a myriad of sides and angles, or of any other of very many sides; neither doth it conduce at all to the understanding of those proprieties whereby a figure of a thousand angles differs from other very Polygonous figures.

Again, to proceed in order, I will endeavour to make it evident, beyond all just exception

tion, that the power of reasoning, in the acts of simple Apprehension, of connecting simple notions into a proposition, of deriving consequences from premised propositions, is not the meer result of the moved mechanism of mans body.

First, In the Acts of simple apprehension, our reason exercised in notions purely Logical, or Metaphysical, has Idea's which are estranged from all corporeal matter. For they are not conceptions of single Beings, but of the manner how we conceive of them ourselves, or declare our conceptions unto others. Thus every youth will tell us, within few days after Matriculation, That *Homo* is Species.

Mr. *Hobbes*. The Universality (a) of one aHum.nat. p.48,49. name to many things, has been the cause that men think the things are themselves universal; and so seriously contend, that besides *Peter* and *John*, and all the rest of the men that are, have been, or shall be in the world, there is yet something else that we call man, viz. man in general; deceiving themselves by taking the universal or general appellation, for the thing it signifieth: For, if one should desire the Painter to make him the Picture of a man; which is as much as to say, of a man in general; he meaneth no more but that the Painter should chuse what man he pleaseth to draw; which must needs be some of them that are, or have been, or may be; none of which are universal: But when he would have him to draw the Picture of

Art. 5. *Concerning an Immaterial Soul in Man,*
the King, or any particular person ; he limiteth
the Painter to that one person he chuseth.

Stud. I affirm not, that there is such an existing being as man in general ; yet that, there is such an abstracted notion of man, or manhood, all Circumstances of Individuation laid aside, is manifest ; seeing it is not a true and proper Predication to say, a man is *Socrates* : and therefore the notion reacheth beyond a singular ; and therefore is not an impulse from Sense, whose Objects are all singular. And because a Painter cannot make the Picture of Humane Nature, but only of a Humane person ; it followeth that such a Notion is not Pictur'd in the Fancie. Besides, when we say, a man is a Species ; we represent not to our selves (properly in Logick) Humane Nature, but the manner whereby our mind conceives of it, whilst it takes notice that it agrees to. *Peter*, and *Paul*, and *Thomas*, and every single man that has been, or is, or shall be produced : For to be Species is not said of man alone, but of every common Nature. And, this also you might have known more than sixty years ago in *Magdalen-Hall* in *Oxford*. It is a shame therefore, for you, to upbraid the Schools, of non-sense and deceit ; into which, if you had enter'd with apprehension, this back-door to Atheism had never been set open by you.

Further, to take you a short lesson out of *Ramus*, a Man who understood the Mathematicks, and yet despis'd not, though he reformed Logick : the invention of Arguments,
thems

shews Reason to be above the Laws of Matter. For, the Arguments in his first part of Logick, (that is, Topicks apt to argue or declare the relation of one thing to another ; as *Virgil* in the fourth *Æneid*, says, Fear does argue degenerate Minds) such as are Cause, Effect, Subject, Adjunct, and the like ; being used here, not to find out the Nature of single Beings (which appertains to Natural Philosophy, Medicks, and other Sciences) nor to interpret Names (which appertains to Grammar) but onely as places declaring the mutual ~~relations~~ or habitudes of one thing to another, which may be related divers ways ; they cannot possibly arise from the single and absolute motions of sense. Wonder not, now, that I am so brutie in the first Elements of Logick, seeing your own misconceit about the Art of Reasoning, is a manifest relapse into the Ignorance of a second Childhood, and sheweth a necessity of your returning to *Oxford* anew.

Again, if we consider Reason in the framing of Propositions, we find that we connect and disjoyn Subjects and Predicates, we compare and refer them ; we say, this appertains to the other, or it does not ; it is equal to it, or unequal ; like, or unlike ; which being acts of Relation, cannot wholly arise from any thing pressing into the Brain from without, which must be some single and absolute Object, but from the meer efficacie of an Incorporeal mind. It is impossible that the Sentient by meer Motion should connect or compare one Image with another. For, a divers Phantasm is a divers mo-

tion; and supposing they remain, the motion is in a divers part: seeing the Phantasms or divers motions would be confounded, if in the same part of the Brain, they should conspire. If then there be one Phantasm in one part, and a second in another, by what imaginable power can they confer? For, if any part gives its motion to the other, or receives from it; the motion, that is the Phantasm of it, is, by so doing, changed. I may here subjoyn, that, without the Anticipation of Propositions in the mind, it is a difficult matter to understand, how we can be capable of Sense or Fancie, unless we first know what it is to know, and have some antecedent rules whereby to judge of receiv'd Images.

Last of all, in deriving Consequences, in longer or shorter trains of coherence, reason shews it self to be an immaterial faculty: For if two Images cannot, as hath been prov'd, be aptly connected by Imagination and Memory, supposed Mechanical; Reason, surely, which ranketh all Beings into their distinct Orders and Dependencies; and connecteth myriads of such Idea's as have no Phantasm appertaining to them, must be Divine. Images and Thoughts are produced in us in much disorder, by reason that the Objects which we converse with are many and divers; and because, our Studies vary upon infinite occasions: so that our thoughts at first do spring up one by one, as Jewels are found. It is, then, the work of Reason to recal and gather together all such of them as are of the same kind, and to lay aside the rest for a

convenient season ; and to judge further of their agreeableness , and how they depend upon and illustrate each other , and so as it were to string them into a long and nervous coherence ; a chain most fit to adorn a Philosopher. I know not , how a Phantasm , or moved part in the Brain , can receive any other into mutual dependence, which the force of the antecedent or consequent Objects adds not to it. For that which is in motion acts not at a distance, but presseth only its Neighbour ; and that, by way of pulsion, not attraction.

Again, Reason, by the drawing of divers Consequences, correcteth Sense ; which , though it doth not properly deceive , (being such a Perception as naturally ariseth from such a pressure, and such a disposed Organ) yet would it leave us for ever in Ignorance , if our Reason did not convince us , that the Object is not adequately represented by the Image. In Sense, Imagination , or Memory , one of the fixed Stars seems not bigger than that in the Badge of the Order of the Garter : the Image is no greater, the motion of no further force ; and therefore Reason , which by consequences in Astronomy , infers that it is bigger than the Earth, is something much superior to motion derived from the Object.

If after all this, a Man shall say, that the very train of Corporeal motions in the Head , is the Reason which judgeth of that train, disturbeth its dependance made by succession of Objects, disposeth it after a new manner , and also at pleasure ordereth the train of Logical Ideas

106 Art. 5. Concerning an immaterial Soul in Man,

dea's not generated by motion ; it may sooner be resolved concerning such a saying , than about the Perpendicular and Circle in the Angle of Contact (touching which you think you have written (a) shrewd matters) that it doth not meerly incline to , but is co-incident with non-sense.

a *Ep.ded.*
before 6
Less.p.4.
D.VV's.

Treatises de

Ang. Cont. & Arith. Infia. I have in two or three leaves wholly and clearly confuted.

b Mr. H.
Consid.p.60

Mr. *Hobbes*. Here is a great deal said , and (b) too much to be confuted : yet almost every saying may be disproved , or ought to be reprehended. In sum ; it is all error and railing.

c *Obj. 4.*
p.96.

But what will you say, (c) if perhaps Ratiocination be nothing but the coupling and concatenation of Names, by the Verb *Est*? whence we collect by reason , nothing at all of the Nature of things, but of their Appellations , to wit, whether we joyn the Names of things according to the Agreements which we made (at pleasure) about their signification, or whether we do otherwise. If this be so , as so it may be , Ratiocination may depend upon Names, Names upon Imagination , and Imagination, perhaps, as I think, upon the motion of Corporeal Organs ; and so, still , the Soul will be nothing else besides agitation in certain parts of a well-framed Body. Nay , it is plain (a) that there is nothing universal but Names. And Reason (b) is nothing but reckoning of the Consequences of general Names agreed upon, to certain purposes.

a *Hum.*
nat.p.49.
b *Lev. c.5.*
p.18.

Stud.

Stud. Let *Des-Cartes* (c) answer this Objection, to whom you once proposed it. There is (said he) in Ratiocination, a coupling not of Names, but of things signified by certain Names; and I admire how the contrary could enter into the mind of any Man. For, who doubts that a *Frenchman* and a *German* do reason the same things concerning the same Subjects, whilst they conceive their Notions in different Words or Names? And doth not this Philosopher condemn himself, whilst he speaks concerning Facts which we made at pleasure, touching the signification of Words? for it he admitteth that any thing is signified by Words, why will not he have our Ratiocination consist in that something which is signified, rather than in the bare Words themselves? Thus he, and (as I think) with unanswerable pertinence. It might be also said, that, by this Doctrine, an *Ass*, and a *Dumb-man*, are equally without Reason, and that a *Parrot* is indued with it.

Mr. Hobbes. There (d) is no Reasoning without speech. By (e) the advantage of Names it is that we are capable of Science; which Beasts for want of them, are not, nor Man, without the use of them.

d Lev. c.4.
p.16.
e Hum.
Nat. p.46.

Stud. Where is your Reason in these words; considering the ingeniousness of divers Dumb-men, excelling that of many who are loudly talkative? Names doubtless, though connected, are not Reason, but the Registers of our Thoughts

a Lev. p. 12
in the end.
c p. 14.
b Epist. ded.
bef. 6 Less.

Thoughts and Reasonings ; and we proceed from Mental to Verbal discourse ; and when we have conceived a Book, we may, express to the world, the sense of it, in what language we please if we be Masters of it. The use of Names causeth rather a readiness in Reasoning, than begetteth Reason ; and, I think, you somewhere in your *Leviathan*, (a) do confess it. So that I may say of Names, as you have done of Symbols in Geometry, that themselves are not Science (b), but serve only to make men go faster about, in Reasoning ; as greater wind to a wind-mill.

Well, I have talk'd my self into a necessity of drinking this frothy Ale. (c) Sir, A good Health to you.

c Mirab.
Pec. p. 19.

*Ditæ cum frustra querantur Pocula Bacchi,
Ollâ subridens bibitur Cervisia nigra.*

Mr. Hobbes. Your Servant, Sir, ——— that Liquor is not very proper for Philosophers.

Stud. This very Draught has put me in mind of an Objection, which makes me extremely to dislike the Doctrine of Mechanick Ratiocination.

This Ale, it seems, shall in some part of it, circle with the Blood, and be sublimed in the Heart, and sent up in Arteries to the Head, and there shall perceive, imagine, remember, and help me to Philosophize, and to make Divine Discourses ; and give me not only the warmth, but the very Essence of Mental or Verbal Prayer.

Mr. and Thanksgiving. Nay (that we may pass,
in due time, to our

Sixth Subject),

it shall also *Will* and *Nill*, which I find I may
do; and think strange that I can do so by the
meer power of Matter.

Mr. *Hobbes*. There (*a*) are certain and ne- *a Libert. &*
cessary causes which make every man to will *Necess. p. 6.*
what he willeth.

Stud. Herein, I confess, you disagree not
from your self, though you seem at the wi-
dest distance from the Truth. And *Regius* (*b*) *b Phil. nat.*
is much more to be blamed for inconsistencie, *p. 478.*
who asserting that the Soul might be a mode
of the Body, did yet profess that the Will was
free; and, in his own phrase, *sui juris*. For your
self, it was fit, upon supposition of your belief
of a Corporeal Universe, that you should main-
tain a necessity of Willing. For if every thing
be matter, each effect in the World, being the
meer result of motion in matter, will be produ-
ced by fatal impulse: And, likewise, that pro-
ducing impulse will be necessitated by a for-
mer, and so on in so long an order, as cannot be
pursu'd (without the admittance of an Incor-
poreal God) to any end of it, distinctly known.
Wherefore the *Stoicks*, long before you, suppo-
sing God to be a kind of Fire; and the Soul to
be a subtile Body, held also the opinion of Ir-
resist-

c.) *Lips.*
Phys. Stoic.
l. 1. p. 28.

resistible Fate. And *Plutarch*, and *Stobæus*, take notice of both Opinions together, as I find them cited by *Lipsius* in his *Manuduction* (c) to that Philosophy: upon which occasion, a worthy and Learned person, hath, in his Discourse at the Funeral of Bishop *Hall*, deservedly call'd you the *New Stoick*; If then there be nothing more Divine in Man, than matter and motion; he does as necessarily chuse or refuse, as Fire ascends, or a stone is pressed towards the Earth.

a *Libert. &*
Necess. p.
17, 18.

b *Libert. &*
Nec. p. 61,
62.

Mr. *Hobbes*. It is no more (a) necessary that Fire should burn, than that a man or other Creature, whose Limbs be moved by Fancie, should have Election, that is Liberty, to do what he hath a fancie to do, though it be not in his Will or Power to choose his fancie, or to choose his Election and Will. Good (b) and evil sequels of mens Actions retained in Memory, do frame and make us to the Election of whatsoever it be that we elect; and the memory of such things proceeds from the Senses, and Sense from the operation of the Objects of Sense, (which are external to us, and govern'd only by God Almighty) and by consequence all actions, even of free and voluntary Agents, are necessary.

Stud. Were man such a piece of Mechanism as has been forged by your untoward invention, much of the Cause would be granted to you: and yet, not this, that the Memory of good or evil

evil sequels of mens actions do frame us unto every election; because there are too many whom no examples of punishment will deter from such evil manners, as they see daily producing bitter effects. But, seeing it has been prov'd, that there is in man a Principle distinct from, and superiour to body, and motion (which, till captious men finde out a better Term, I will call an immaterial soul) it follows thence, that the motions from the object, continued to the brain and heart, can onely sollicit, and not force the assent of that incorporeal Being which giveth them passage, or resisteth them, and determineth them at its pleasure, in divers cases. Neither can outward force any more restrain this spiritual minde, than *Xerxes* could properly fetter the *Hellepont*. There is, then, left me but little work in opugning your opinion about Liberty and Necessity, seeing the foundation of your belief of Fate, is the corporeity of the Universe.

It is also, to be considered, that a person of great fame and place, hath already contended with you; so very much to your disadvantage, that it seems not worth the while for any man henceforth, to enter the lists. And of this I will not make my self judge, but repeat the opinion of a Learned man, who was wont to declare his minde in Controversies, with unbiassed freedom. 'It is known every where said

' that Elegant (a) Writer) with what Piety
' and acumen [the last Lord Primate of all
' Ireland] wrote against the *Manichean Do-*
'ctrine of fatal necessity, which a late witty
man

b *Bishop*
Taylor's
Fun. Ser.
on Bishop
Bramhall,
p. 55, 56.

‘man had pretended to adorn with a new vi-
 ‘zor; but this excellent person wash’d off the
 ‘Cerusse, and the Meretricious Paintings;
 ‘rarely well asserted the Oeconomy of the Di-
 ‘vine Providence; and having once more tri-
 ‘umph’d over his Adversary, *Plenus Victoria-*
rum & Trophæorum, betook himself to the
 ‘more agreeable attendance upon Sacred Offices.

Mr. *Hobbes*. This Doctor boasts of Tro-
 phies; and the Bishop himself, of old, talk’d of
 b *Lib. & (b)* clearing the coast by Distinctions, and di-
Nec. p. 5. viding his forces into two squadrons, one of
 places of Scripture, the other of Reasons. And
 I say notwithstanding (to continue in the Mi-
 litary allusion begun by them) that in my
 c *Lib. & Books (c)* not only his squadrons of Argu-
Nec. p. 64. ments, but also his reserve of Distinctions are
 defeated.

Stud. I perceive you intend to make good
 the Character now given of you, of being a
 witty man: although, according to the Prin-
 ciples of your own Philosophy, it redoundeth
 d *See Hum. not much to your reputation. For Wit (d)* de-
Nat. p. 124. pending upon a tenuity and agibility of spirits,
 there seemeth wanting in a very witty man,
 that fixation of parts which is required to Pru-
 dence.

Touching your Antagonist, there is no
 doubt (and it appeareth by your fretting and
 sprawling) that you have felt the smart of that
 Oppolition which he hath made against you.
 But, so far as I can remember, (for I have not
 had

had for some years, any writing of his in my possession) he hath not level'd his main force against that place wherein you seem (to me) most capable of being wounded, and wherein your chief strength seemeth to lie; that is to say, the Materiality of the whole Sphere of Nature. In relation to which, I am apt to be perswaded, that in this Controversie about Fate, you by a daring consequence, do charge the most holy God with all the iniquities committed in the World. For all effects arising from motion; and all motion being derived from the first immoveable Mover, all subordinate Causes and Effects will owe themselves, in a chain-like dependance, to the supreme Original Cause.

Mr. *Hobbes*. The concurrence (a) of all causes maketh not one simple chain or concatenation, but an innumerable number of Chains, joyned together, not in all parts, but in the first link, God Almighty. — That which, I say, necessitateth (b) and determineth every action, is the sum of all things, which being now existent, conduce and concur to the production of that action hereafter, whereof if any one thing now were wanting, the effect could not be produced: This concurrence of Causes, whereof every one is determined to be such as it is by a like concurrence of former Causes, may well be called (in respect they were all set and ordered by the eternal Cause of all things, God Almighty) the Decree of God. Every act (c) of mans will, and every desire and inclination

a Lib. 3.
Nec. p. 16.

b Lib. 3.
Nec. p. 19.

c Lev. 21.
p. 108.

tion proceedeth from some cause, and that from another cause, in a continual Chain (whose first link is in the hand of God, the Cause of all Causes); and therefore the voluntary actions of men proceed from necessity.

Stud. Impute not that, with falsehood and dishonour, to God, which is caused by mans unconstrained will; the onely Mother which conceiveth and bringeth forth sin; notwithstanding that Objects may move, and Examples may intice, and Opportunities may invite, and evil Angels may tempt, and Constitution may encline, and God permitteth. Let no man, therefore, say, when he is tempted, he is tempted of God; for, every man is tempted when he is drawn away by his own lust, and enticed.

*a Lib. &
Necp. 24.*

Mr. *Hobbes*. 'Tis Blasphemy (*a*) to say, God can sin; but to say, that God can so order the World as a sin may be necessarily caused thereby in a man, I do not see how it is any dishonour to him.

*A Ho. Conf.
p. 46. 47.
Nor can the
clamour of
my Adver-
saries make
me think my
self, a worse
Christian
than the best
of them.*

Stud. These answers should not have proceeded from a man, who professeth himself (*b*) a Christian of no mean degree. They come (I was ready to say) as unexpectedly, as if they had dropped out of the Heavens; but that they have relation to a lower place. If we brand mortal men with names of infamy, and tokens of our abhorrence, calling them unmerciful, bloody, deceitful; who are said by you, in

in all their actions, to be drawn by Fate; how can we speak or think with honour of the Deity, whilst we apprehend him as the original Cause of all those evils, for which we (unhurt) abhor one another; which he himself hath told us he doth abhor; and for the commission of which immoralities he will execute vengeance upon the brutish part of mankind? When a Sword is sheathed in the Bowels of an innocent and good man, we reproach not the bloody Weapon which was moved by force; but we give titles of extraordinary dishonour to the barbarous will of that savage man, who made it an instrument of such dreadful mischief. If men be carryed on in all their circumstances, by the mighty torrent of irresistible motion; their iniquities, and the dishonours due unto them, are chargeable upon the source and spring of motion. If men are necessitated to act or omit, as also to will or to refuse; then Exhortations unto such Duties as they perform not, are bitter taunts, and like commands to a Cripple to rise up and walk; and punishment for such evils as they commit, is a cruel usage; and a declaration against sin, as hated by the first Cause, (who cannot be thought in earnest to detest his own workmanship); and as the default of man (who is asked in Scripture why he will dye? whilst his very will to dye, is by you supposed fatal) is impetuous mockery, and unworthy deceit. St. Austin himself in his 10th cap. de Fide, contra Manicheos (a), speaketh in words to the same effect: Who (said the Father) may not cry out, that

*a Quis non
clamet stultum esse
praecepta dare ei, cui
liberum non
est quod praecipitur facere: Et iniquum esse eum
dam-
nare, cui
non fuit
potestas
jussa complere?*

‘it is a ridiculous thing to bind Precepts upon
 ‘him, who is not at liberty to obey them ; and
 ‘an unrighteous thing to condemn that man
 ‘who hath no power to perform what he was
 ‘commanded ? And what can be said of God,
 which may betoken honour, if he be once ac-
 cused as the Author of sin ?

b Lev. cap.
 21. p. 108.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Men (b) may do many things
 which God does not command ; and therefore
 he is not the Author of them.

Stud. He is more the Author, who doth se-
 cretly necessitate, than he who onely does com-
 mand the effect; in as much as a command may,
 as it is daily, be disobey’d, but power irresistible
 is not to be eluded. And *David* would have
 been more entirely and notoriously the Mur-
 derer of *Uriah*, by forcing the armed hand of
 an *Ammonite* upon him, and the *Ammonite* less
 guilty ; than by a bare appointing of him to be
 placed in the Front of the battel. Besides, it
 seems superfluous to command the doing of
 that, which the supposed Commander (with
 or without promulgation of his Will) does un-
 avoidably bring to pass : for you make God the
 first Cause of all that is performed, even a-
 gainst the Revelation of his pleasure.

c Lev. ib.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I grant that, though (c) men
 may do many things which God does not com-
 mand ; yet that they can have no passion, nor
 appetite to any thing, of which appetite God’s
 Will is not the Cause.

Stud.

Stud. Why then did accused *Adam* transfer the blame on *Eve*, and she upon the Serpent? It had been an easie, if it might have been a true reply, for both of them to have said, Thou thy self didst force us unto that, which, by thee, is so severely reprehended. The Serpent himself, at the hearing of his Doom, remained silent; the very Father of Lies not being impudent in so excessive a degree, as to charge the Almighty with his own evils. Wherefore, in ascribing Sin to God as the first cause of it, you put me in mind of their fancie, upon a mistaken Text, who (*b*) affirm'd *Leviathan* to be the very Father of the Devil. I cannot heartily beg your pardon for that note, because it is necessary that I be zealous, when once the holiness and goodness of God is reproached by humane wit, impudence, madness.

b See
Heinsii
Extr. Sac.
p. 227.

Mr. Hobbes. Condemn not in such a furious way, good Deductor (*c*) of Morality; for with as ill manners you affirm that God is the Permitter, as I have done, in saying he is the Cause of every action.

c 6 Less.
p. 64.

I am (*a*) not ignorant that Divines distinguish between Will and Permission; and say, that, God Almighty does indeed sometimes permit sin, and that he also foreknoweth that the sin he permitteth shall be committed, but does not Will nor necessitate it. — But I find no difference between the Will to have a thing done, and the permission to do it, when he

a L. & N.
p. 22, 23.

that permitteth can hinder it, and knows that it will be done unless he hinder it.

b See Lev.
p. 108.

Stud. The difference is heavenly-wide betwixt bare Permission, and that Will which you have fancied in Almighty God; a Will (*b*) attended with such a disposal of all things, as begetteth a necessity in man's Will of doing God's. For no man ever could imagine (your self excepted) that bare Permission should have the influence of a necessary Cause; whereas such influence is ascrib'd by you, to the Will of God. It appeareth by the Revelation which God hath made to man, that he does so will Religion, that it would be more pleasing to him for man to obey, than to remain perverse; yet not in such a manner, that he compelleth him to become his subject by active compliance: for that were to unmake Man as such, that is, as a Creature endu'd with a free Will. When God saith of his Vineyard, which made not such returns of fruitfulness as were proportion'd to his cultivation of it, that he could do no more for it than he had done; he declared plainly that he used such means as were consistent with a Liberty in man of neglecting or misimproving them: And the exercise of this liberty in sinning he permitteth, in regard to man's free nature, and because he can, not only chastise him for his delinquencie, but likewise, by his Methods of infinite wisdom, bring good out of it. There being then in God, in many Cases, a Conditional will; that will, without the

the rescinding of any Law of man's unconstrain'd Election, is always done, either by the obedience of man, or by the vindication of abused mercy in the correction of a stubborn sinner. And thus we have seen how injurious your Doctrine of Necessity hath been to the just honour of the most Holy will of God. It is, also, manifest, that by the same way (I will not call it of Reason, but) of bold asseveration, you upbraid all Laws, whereby any punishment is inflicted upon Malefactors, of most rigorous and unreasonable procedure; and thereby, after dishonour done to God, you vilifie his Vicegerents. For, why is the Scourge or Brand, the Rope, or Fire; the Press, Axe, or Bullet, prepared for those men, who do not, by their own free choice and power, lay open the fence which Authority hath set down; but are hurried through it by a forein violence, against which it is in vain to struggle? Sword and Pistol, or whatsoever is an instrument in the violation of the Law, or safety of Man, is as guilty as man himself, and with indignation to be broken in pieces; if man be unavoidably and fatally managed (as in a Puppet-play) by a forrein hand, discern'd only by you who pretend to see within the Curtain. I remember to have read, that *Draco*, the *Athenian*, made a Law, whereby the very Instruments of Homicide were punish'd. And the Sons of him that perished by the fall of *Nicon's* Statue (*a*) which he had whipped, in order to the greater infamy of *Nicon*, condemned the Statue as a Murderer, and with solemnity, threw it into the

*a Suidas
in Nicon.*

Art. 6. Concerning Liberty and Necessity.

Sea: but they were not so sottish as by these Laws and practises, to pretend a real punishment of such Instruments; but they design'd, to move Beholders to the greater abhorrence of spilling humane Blood; and they gave some vent to the fermenting rage of their inward passion, which might have swell'd to their greater discommodity, if they had not sought some means of discharging it.

b *Lib. Nec.*
p. 66.

c

p *Lib. Nec.*
41, 42.

d *Lib. &*
Nec. p. 27,
28.

Mr. *Hobbes*. 'Tis (b) unreasonable to punish some Actions of men, which could not be justly done by man to man, unless the same were voluntary. — The (c) nature of Sin consisteth in this, that the Action done proceed from our will, and be against the Law. A Judge in judging whether it be a sin or no which is done against the Law, looks at no higher cause in the Action than the will of the Doer. Now when I say, the Action is necessary, I do not say it was done against the will of the Doer, but with his will. — And (d) the will to break the Law, maketh the Action unjust; because the Law regardeth the will, and no other precedent Causes of Action.

e See *Lib.*
& *Necess.*
p. 42.
f See *L. &*
Nec. p. 17.

Stud. The Will, if we have regard to the Opinion which you hold concerning it, can neither render the Action unjust; or the Judge righteous in his Sentence of Condemnation: because every Volition (e) or Act of the will and purpose of man is by outward violence, made unavoidable, and the beginning (f) and pro-

progress of deliberation dependeth, also, upon necessary Causes.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I acknowledg that (a) when first a man hath a will to something, to which immediately before he had no Appetite nor will; the cause of the will is not the will it self, but something else, not in his own disposing. So that whereas it is out of controversie, that of Voluntary Actions, the Will is the necessary Cause; and by this which is said, the Will is also caused by other things whereof it disposeth not: it followeth, that Voluntary Actions have all of them necessary Causes, and therefore are necessitated.

Stud. Wherefore, if the Law inflicteth Capital punishment upon a man with regard unto his will; the man suffers for that which was not in his power to help; and is therefore to be reckoned amongst those whose blood is shed without any proper stain in it.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Men (b) are justly killed, not for that their Actions are necessitated, but because they are noxious. — Men are not (c) therefore put to death, or punished, for that their theft proceedeth from Election, but because it was noxious, and contrary to Mens preservation.

Stud. The Law regards the free choice, though it hath respect also to the mischief derived on the Commonwealth. Wherefore there have

b Lib. & N.
Nec. p. 29.
c L. & N.
p. 30.

have been Cities of Refuge constituted for the safeguard of those who had, unwittingly, kill'd a man ; whilst the wilful Murtherers were to repay blood for blood. And amongst our selves the blood of the most unuseful person in the Land, shall be avenged by the death of the ablest Souldier, or Counsellor, if the Law may have its course, and it be satisfi'd, that he shed it with a deliberate stroke ; whilst a pitiful ignorant Cripple shall escape, if by meer mischance he shall slay such a man as is able to serve a Kingdom, either by his Sword or Prudence. In which Cases, the Laws have regard, rather to the wilfulness, than the noxiousness of the Actors. So also in the *Roman Law* (*c*) reported by *Paulus J.C. de Pœnis Paganorum*) he that wilfully burnt an house was to suffer death ; but he that, by accident, burnt a Village, or an Island, was but a Debtor. But if noxiousness be the Rule of Judging, then are you to change your phrase and say, not that men are punished (which presupposeth a crime) but afflicted or killed ; after the manner of Beasts, which, not being capable of Law, do perish without Law ; as their ruine conduceth to the behoof or security of man. And therefore the Civil Law (*a*) calleth not the fact of a Beast *injuria*, but *damnum*; and determineth that a Beast being devoid of Reason, can do no *Injury*.

c Mosaic.
& Rom.
Leg. Collat.
Tit. 12. p.
37.

a *L. i. ff. si*
Quadrup.
S. 1.

b *Lib. &*
Nec. p. 30.

Mr. *Hobbes*. As for (*b*) Beasts, we kill them justly, when we do't in order to our own preservation.

Stud.

Stud. But that Justice dependeth upon the Dominion which God hath vouchsafed man over those Creatures to which some will not allow so much as Sense (c), and many no more than direct Perception; though you are so profuse, in one of your Books (d) as to grant them Election and Deliberation. And here, let it be observed, that God, who hath given this Dominion to man, hath revealed it also to be his purpose, not to rule and judge him by absolute Sovereignty; nor to approve of Men, whilst they measure their Right amongst themselves by a power not to be controul'd: But he hath shew'd that he will govern them, and have them deal with one another, according to the equal Laws of their reasonable Nature.

c See Des-
Cartes in
2 vol. *Epist.*
lat. p. 6, 7.
&c.
d *Lib. &*
Nec. p. 10,
11, 12.

Mr. Hobbes. You run on in Exceptions against that Doctrine of Necessity, which I have proposed; but you take no notice of the inconveniencies, wherewith your own opinion is pressed.

And first, you take no notice of the consistence of Freedom and Necessity; or that God and good Angels (a) are supposed to be freer than Men, and yet do good necessarily. It was (b) a very great praise, in my opinion, that *Velleius Paterculus* gives *Cato*, where he says, That he was good by Nature; *Et quia aliter esse non potuit.*

a *Lib. &*
Nec. p. 44.
b *L. & N.*
p. 34.

Stud. The Necessity wherewith Almighty God doth always good, is of a kind extremely

ly

ly different from that Physical co-action which you believe to be the Cause of each effect. For, he determineth himself by the eternal Reason of his own most perfect Nature, and is not urged by outward impulse ; which if it could once be attributed to him , he would straight-way, cease to be God Omnipotent.

Mr. Hobbes. That word , Omnipotent, reminds me of a second inconvenience, which attendeth the Opposers of my Doctrine. For if
 ¶ L^o. 6. 21. (c) Gods will did not assure the necessity of
 ¶ 108. Man's Will, and consequently of all that on Man's will dependeth ; the Liberty of Men would be a contradiction and impediment to the Omnipotence and Liberty of God.

Stud. It is, in you, absurd to mention Liberty even in relation to God himself ; because, by ascribing to him a Material Nature, you assign him no Motions but such as arise from Physical compulsion. — But , upon what account is it said by you , that the Omnipotence of God must be obstructed by the grant of an undetermin'd liberty in Man ? It is not, that I know of, affirm'd by any Disputant, that there is such a lawless Liberty in Man , as is not under subjection to the absolute Power of God ; but that it is a Liberty which God Almighty, in an agreeableness to the free nature of Man, hath been pleas'd to grant ; and, for the greater part, to suffer in the exercise of it. Only it is said concerning sin, that God cannot force the will of man to the commission of it : for, the producti-

duction of such a wretched Issue, would argue, not omnipotencie, but impotence and imperfection in the parent of it. God created man, and gave a law to him; and design'd not to use his Almighty Power to effect the fulfilling of that Law; which Power supposeth the command of a Law to be in vain. He therefore that interposeth not his Power whilst he may, hath not his Power disannulled when his preceptive Will is onely withstood, and he permit-teth that disobedience (a).

a See Epist.
Ecclesiast. p.
435, &c.

Mr. *Hobbes*. But what Elusion can be invented touching the foreknowledge of God? The denying necessity (b) destroyeth both the Decrees and Prescience of God Almighty; for, whatsoever God hath purposed to bring to pass by man, as an instrument, or foreseeeth shall come to pass; a man, if he have liberty, from necessitation, might frustrate and make not to come to pass; and God should either not foreknow it, and not decree it; or he should foreknow such things shall be, as shall never be, and decree that which shall never come to pass.

b Lib. &
Nec. p. 79,
80.

Stud. Touching the Decrees of God, it cannot be proved that they extend to all things which come to pass. For his Prescience, I'm sure, that it extendeth to all things possible to be known, (and surely, to infinite wisdom, all things are such) and that it hath no necessary influence upon the Event; it doth neither hinder the Power of God, nor the liberty of man.
God

God foreseeth that the Event may come to pass, and that he will not hinder it, yet that he might : and it cometh to pass most necessarily if God foreseeth it ; but the necessity ariseth from the supposition of the infallibility, and not from any causal energy, of divine foreknowledge. It is manifest by the fulfilled Prophecies of divers inspired men, that there is Prescience ; and a man may also be assured, that neither is his liberty infringed by it, nor prescience by his liberty. It is evident to every man, in many cases, (as evident as that he perceiveth at all, or understandeth,) that he willeth or refuseth without any constraint upon his freedom. But there is great difficulty in unriddling the manner of the consistence of foreknowledge and liberty ; because, although there be some notion, yet there is not a knowledge, fully comprehensive of the Divine Wisdom, in a finite Soul. Thus much, notwithstanding, may, with sobriety, be offer'd towards the explication of this mysterious truth ; that the boundless wisdom of God who made the World, understanding the Laws and Operations of his Workmanship from the beginning to the end of them, understandeth also the nature of all appearances in all Objects in relation to the minde of man, in every estate wherein he is placed, and at all times, together with the dispositions of each mans soul ; and thereby foreseeth what he will refuse or chuse, whilst he had power (absolutely speaking) otherwise either to elect or reject. He that should drop a piece of money, by an undiscerned

ned hand, in the way of a man afflicted with extream poverty; the same person might readily foresee, that the espied money would infallibly be taken up by that poor man, though he could not but understand that the beggar had so much power over his own limbs, as not to stoop unless he pleased. This instance may, a little, illustrate the matter; but is imperfect: as, indeed, each thing in the world is, being used in representing the perfection of God.

But it seemeth not worth the time and pains to reconcile, to your apprehension, the Doctrines of foreknowledge, and undetermin'd liberty; because this Objection is by you, proposed, in order to the amusing of other mens Reasons, rather than in justification of the Truth: For, according to your Principles, all evidence or knowledge ariseth from Objects already in being. Neither understand you this of Essence in the sense of the Metaphysick-Schools, but of the actual presence of caused Objects.

Mr. Hobbes. In my opinion (a) foreknowledge is knowledge, and knowledge depends on the existence of things known, and not they on it.

a Lib. & Nec. p. 16.

[However, the Objection serveth for the incommoding of those who maintain another sort of foreknowledge; but the argument on which I establish my Doctrine, is of another kinde.]

I hold (b) that to be a sufficient cause, to which nothing is wanting that is needful to the producing of the effect. The same also is a

b Lib. & N. p. 72, 73.

ne-

necessary cause : For, if it be possible that a sufficient cause shall not bring forth the effect, then there wanteth somewhat which was needful to the producing of it, and so the cause was not sufficient ; but if it be impossible that a sufficient cause should not produce the effect, then is a sufficient cause a necessary cause ; (for that is said to produce an effect necessarily, that cannot but produce it.) Hence it is manifest, that whatsoever is produced is produced necessarily, for whatsoever is produced hath had a sufficient cause to produce it, or else it had not been ; and therefore also, voluntary actions are necessitated.

Stud. In the alterations made in bodies, every sufficient is an efficient cause, by reason that matter sufficiently moved cannot stay it self, but is wholly determin'd by forreign impulse ; which impulse also had an undefeated determination. But because I have proved the existence of an Immaterial Soul, I may affirm that all outward preparations being made, so that there remaineth nothing wanting but the Act of Volition ; the Spiritual Minde not being overcome by the sway of Matter, hath a power to abstain from acting, though perhaps it is not pleased to use it. And this we may illustrate by the Example of *Abraham*, whose Fire, and Wood, and Son to be a Victim, and Sacrificing-knife, were in a readines, and sufficient strength, with these, to execute the Command which God Almighty, by way of tryal, had given to him ; yet who can doubt that

Abr-

Abraham had a power, at the same time, to render these preparations useless, and to be disobedient? For, how could those objects, and this command, convey a force into his Will, and thence into his Arm, to slay his son? though they might present him with a reason which the goodness of his disposition would not refuse: The intention of *Abraham* to slay his son was wrought by a Moral, and not a Physical, or Natural Power.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Natural (*a*) efficacy of objects *a L. & N.*
does determine voluntary Agents, and necessitates the Will, and consequently the action; *p. 16.*
but for moral efficacy, I understand not what you mean.

Stud. I understand by moral efficacy, the persuasive power of such motives as those which arise from fear, and love, and trust, and gratitude; and especially such as arise from the meer reason of the case; as when a man doth therefore give Alms, meerly because he apprehends it to be more excellent to give than to receive, and not to be rid of the pang of compassion, or to obtain praise, or other reward. By such motives, the minde is often prevail'd upon, without the force of corporeal motion, being wooed, and not pressed unavoidably, into consent. Of these motives, that of fear, may seem to have Mechanick force, because, that passion is often stirred up by the horror of objects, disturbing the natural course of the blood. But it will be granted by your
K self

Leviath.
p.108.

self, that the very passion of fear doth not compel, but incline the Will: For, you acknowledge (a) that fear and liberty are consistent; as when a man throweth his Goods into the Sea for fear the Ship should sink, he doth it nevertheless very willingly, and may refuse to do it if he will: It is therefore the action of one that was free. Seeing then the incorporeal soul of man is induced by perswasion, and not compelled by natural motion; you may as soon convince me, that every sufficient man (as we are wont to call a wealthy person) is therefore a dispenser of his Goods, and a liberal man; as that every sufficient cause is efficient also, and that the immaterial soul is, forthwith, compelled to act, when all things are present which are needful to the producing of the effect, and all impediments are removed.

Lib. C.
Nec. p. 73.

L. & N.
P. 76, 77.

Mr. *Hobbes*. To say that an Agent (*a*) in such circumstances, can nevertheless not produce the effect, implies a contradiction, and is nonsense, being as much as to say, the cause may be sufficient, that is to say, necessary; and yet the effect shall not follow. That all (*b*) events have necessary causes, hath been proved already, in that they have sufficient causes. Further, let us in this place also suppose any event never so casual, as the throwing (for example) Ames-ace upon a pair of Dice, and see, if it must not have been necessary before 'twas thrown. For, seeing it was thrown, it had a beginning, and consequently a sufficient cause to produce

it, consisting partly in the Dice, partly in outward things, as the posture of the parts of the hand, the measure of force applyed by the Caster, the posture of the parts of the Table, and the like: In sum, there was nothing wanting which was necessarily requisite to the producing of that particular Cast, and consequently the Cast was necessarily thrown; for if it had not been thrown, there had wanted somewhat requisite to the throwing of it, and so the cause had not been sufficient.

Stand. Here you make instance in an Event resulting from Circumstances of Bodies, and from Physical motion: in relation to which I have already granted, that a sufficient is an efficient Cause; and declar'd the reason of it; and how it toucheth not the present business. But by this last Answer I begin to understand that you obtrude a Sophism upon me, instead of a real Argument. For, whilst you say, 'that sufficient is the same with necessary, and that if the Cast had not been thrown, there was something wanting; you include, in your sufficient Cause, when you speak of Man, the very act of Volition, besides all the furniture prepared for that act: and then your meaning amounts to this, that when there is each thing needful, and no impediment, and also a will to act, the effect followeth. But here you beg the Question, which is this; VVhether, all things requisite to action being present, the will and act of Volition excepted, the Soul hath not a power to forbear that Act? and whilst you suppose

a Leviath.
6.69.28.

a removal of impediments, and the presence of all things necessary, and the act of the will also; and then say, the Cause is sufficient and efficient too, you say no more, than that a man produceth necessarily, an effect, whilst he produceth it; which indeed is a truth, (for he cannot act and not act at the same time) but, in the present Controversie, it is an egregious Impertinence. For, the Necessity which you speak of, is not in the will it self, or in the Effect; but in that consequence which the mind createth, by supposing that the will complieth with the means, and that, whilst it chuseth, it cannot but chuse. VVherefore this fallacie is like to theirs, who say, the will is necessarily determin'd by the last act of the Understanding, meaning, because it is the last: they suppose the last act, and that the will closeth with the Understanding, and then they say, it followeth upon necessity: which is no more than to affirm, that there is nothing later than the last. And if I am not impos'd upon by my memory; you somewhere argue (a), that the will is the last appetite in deliberating; and that therefore, though we say in common discourse, A man had once a will to do a thing, that nevertheless he forbears to do; yet that is not properly a will, because the action depends not of it, but of the last inclination or appetite. You suppose the will to be the last Inclination, and that therefore the Action depends upon it, because it is the last; and then you call it sufficient and necessary, when you have made it to be such; not in its own nature, but by the supposition

position framed in your own Brain. And thus you have made a great noise and kackling about Sufficient and Efficient, whilst there is nothing here said by you, which is not as insipid as the white of an Egg.

But of that Necessity which is said to compel the will of Man, enough ; let us consider that Law which obligeth it, though not by force to action , yet upon default, to punishment.

And that we may proceed in order , let our beginning be made at

Our Seventh Head,

The *Law of Nature*, that inward Law, in relation to which each man is a Magistrate to himself, erecting a Tribunal in his own Breast.

Mr. *Hobbes*. There is (a) Right, and also, a a *Leviath.*
Law of Nature. The Right of Nature, is the G. 14. p. 64.
Liberty each man hath , to use his own power as he will himself , for the preservation of his own nature, that is to say, of his own life ; and consequently of doing any thing, which in his own judgment, and reason, he shall conceive to be the aptest means thereunto. ——— The Law of Nature is a precept , or general Rule, found out by Reason, by which a man is forbidden to do that which is destructive of his life , or taketh away the means of preserving the same ; and to omit, that, by which he thinketh, it may be least preserved. ——— The sum of the Right of Nature, is, by all means we can to

b *De Civ.*, defend our selves : This is (b) the first foundation of Natural Right.

c.1. p.11.

Jus na-

turalis

fundamen-

tum est, ut

quisq; vi-

tam &

membra sua,

quantum

potest, tuta-

tur.

c *Leviath.*

p.64. They

that speak

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Subject, use

to con-

found *Jus*

and *Lex.*

d *Laurent.*

Vall. Ele-

gant. l.4.

c.48.

a *Lev. c.15*

p.80. lin. 8,

&c.

b *ibid. line*

17, &c.

17, &c.

Stud. The distinction betwixt the Right, and the Law of Nature, is, with good reason to be admitted. But you ought not to challenge it (c) to your self, seeing it is expressly noted by divers antient Authors, and in particular, by *Laurentius Valla* (d). That which you add, seemeth as false as the other is antient. For the right dictate of Natural Reason obliging man (not yet suppos'd a member of the great Community) to an orderly behavior towards God, and his Parents, as also towards his own Soul and Body, in cases which concern, and which concern not, life and death, is the Law of Nature.

Mr. *Hibbes*. The Dictates of Reason [concerning Vice and Virtue, (a)] Men (b) use to call by the Name of Laws, but improperly : for they are but Conclusions, or Theorems, concerning what conduceth to the conservati- on, and defence of themselves; whereas Law properly is the word of him, who by Right hath command over others.

Stud. These Dictates being the Natural Operations of our Minds, the Being, and undepraved condition of which in right reasoning, we owe to God; we cannot but esteem them as the voice of God within us, and consequently Law : wherefore *St. Paul* calleth the Rule of Natural Conscience among the Gentiles, *The*

Law

Law written in their hearts. — But whence doth it come to pass, that Temporal self-Interest is laid by you as the foundation-stone of the Law of Nature? in such sort, that nothing is unlawful which conduceth to such preservation. For it is commonly taught amongst us, that many things are condemn'd by the light of Reason; and that we ought not to do evil that good may come on't; but prefer the Law of God in nature before private Utility; it being the truest Self-interest to lose the present secular advantage, for the future recompence of such as, with peril, obey God.

Mr. *Hobbes*. The Reasons of my Opinion are manifest. Because it is natural for man to avoid pain (c) and pursue utility, and because in the state of Nature, there is nothing unlawful against others. For (d) the desires, and other passions of Man, are in themselves no sin: no more are the actions that proceed from those Passions, 'till they know a Law that forbids them: which till Laws be made, they cannot know: nor can any Law be made, 'till they have agreed upon the person that shall make it.

c De Cive,
p. 11. for
the cause
quod; &c.
d Lev. 6. 13
p. 62.

Stud. Unless you explain your self concerning this state of Nature which you speak of, the way of our proceeding will be darkned by words.

Mr. *Hobbes*. The natural condition of Mankind may be thus explained.

a Lev. c. 13
p. 60, to
63. more
at large.

Nature hath made Men so equal (*a*) in the faculties of Body and Mind ; as that, when all is reckoned together, the difference between Man and Man , is not so considerable, as that one man can thereupon claim to himself any benefit to which another may not pretend as well as he.

From this equality of ability, ariseth equality of hope in the attaining of our ends. And therefore if any two men, desire the same thing, which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become Enemies ; and in the way to their end (which is principally their own conservation, and sometimes their Delectation only) endeavour to destroy or subdue one another. Whereupon some are invited to invade others, and from others may fear the like invasion.

From equality of ability , competition ariseth, fomented by equality of hope ; and from thence diffidence of one another : And from this diffidence, attended with desire of Glory in conquering, there ariseth a war of every Man against every Man.

And therefore, whatsoever is consequent to a time of War, where every man is enemy to every man ; the same is consequent to the time wherein men live without other security than what their own strength, and their own invention shall furnish them withal. In such condition, there is no place for industry ; because the fruit thereof is uncertain ; and consequently, no culture of the Earth, no Navigation , nor use of the Commodities that may be imported by Sea ; no commodious Building ; no in-

stru-

struments of moving and removing such things as require much force ; no knowledge of the face of the earth ; no account of time ; no Arts ; no Letters ; no Society ; and , which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death ; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

To this War of every Man against every Man, this also is consequent, That nothing can be unjust. The notions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, have there no place. Where there is no common power, there is no Law ; where no Law, no Injustice. Force and fraud, are in War the two Cardinal Virtues. Justice and Injustice are none of the Faculties, neither of the Body, nor Mind. If they were, they might be in a man that were alone in the world, as well as his Senses, and Passions. They are Qualities, that relate to men in Society, not in Solitude. It is consequent also to the same condition, that there be no propriety, no dominion, no mine and thine distinct ; but only, that to be every Man's that he can get ; and for so long as he can keep it.

And this is the ill condition, which Man by meer Nature, is actually placed in ; though with a possibility to come out of it : consisting partly in the Passions, partly in his Reason.

The Passions that encline men to peace, are fear of death ; desire of such things as are necessary to commodious living ; and a hope by their industry to obtain them. And Reason suggesteth convenient Articles of Peace, upon which Men may be drawn to agreement. These
Arti-

Articles, are they, which otherwise are called the Laws of Nature.

Stud. It is a very absurd and unsecure course to lay the ground-work of all Civil Polity and formed Religion, upon such a supposed state of Nature, as hath no firmer support than the contrivance of your own fancie. Let *Ptolemy* endeavour a Solution of those appearances which arise from the Heavenly Bodies, by one sort of Scheme; and *Tycho* by another, and *Copernicus* by a third; and let *Des-Cartes* attempt a fourth; for the declaring, not only in what manner, but by what Efficient Cause, the Stars may move; for thus far the interests of men remain secure, not being invaded by such remote Models and Hypotheses. But when the Temporal and Eternal safety of Mankind is concerned (as in the Doctrines of Civil, and Moral, and Christian Philosophy) then are Hypotheses, framed by imagination, and not by reason, assisted with Memory touching the passed state of the World, as exceedingly dangerous as they are absurd. Wherefore, such persons who trouble the World with fancied Schemes and Models of Polity, in *Oceana's* and *Leviathans*, ought to have in their minds an usual saying of the most excellent Lord *Bacon* concerning a Philosophy advanced upon the History of Nature. That
 ‘ (a) such a work is the world as God made
 ‘ it, and not as men have made it: for that it
 ‘ hath nothing of Imagination.

a Dr. R's
 Pref. to Sir
 F.B.Nat.
 Hist.

The faithful Records of time give us another account of the Origin of Nations; and common

mon Sense, whereby one apprehends in another's birth, the manner of his own, doth sufficiently instruct us in this truth, that we are born, and grow up under Government; Our Parents being (a) before the Institution of Commonwealth, absolute Sovereigns in their own Families; And as *Hierocles* speaketh (b) Gods upon Earth. VVherefore *Cicero*, discoursing of the many Degrees of the Society of men, calleth (c) VVed ock the beginning of a City; and, as it were, the Seminary of a Kingdom. So that, to talk of such a state of nature as supposeth an independencie of one person upon another, is to lay aside, not only the History of *Moses*, but also of experience, which teacheth that we are born Infants, (of Parents, for that reason, to be obey'd); and to put some such cheat upon the VVorld, as Nurses are wont, in sport, to put upon unwary Children, when they tell them, they started up out of the parsley-bed. And verily some such odd conceit is to be suspected in that man who says, that all is matter, and, by consequence, that mankind arose, at first, out of the fortuitous Concretions of it. *Epicurus* therefore in sequel of that doctrine of his, that all things were produced by atoms, explained the birth of man, by supposing certain swelling bags or wombs upon the earth, which brake at last, and let forth Infants (d) nourished by her Juice, clothed by her Vapours, provided of a bed in the soft grass: and he also taught that in the beginning (though he knew not when) men wander'd about like Beasts, and every one was for him-

a *Leviath.*
c. 22. p. 121
b *Deol.*
in ymn.

c *Cicero de*
Offic. l. 1.
S. 17. op. p.
1217.
Principium
urbis, &
quasi Semi-
narium Rei-
publice.

d *Lucret.*
Crescebant
atque terra
radicibus
apti, &c.
Vide Cen-
forin. de
die Nat. c. 4
p. 18.

self

self, and that meerly to secure themselves, they combin'd into Societies; and that those Societies were formed by Pacts and Covenants; and that from those Covenants sprang good and evil, just and unjust. For such a Romance is to be read, at large, in his Compurgator, *Gassendus*, (*a*) who subjoyneth no Essay of confutation.

a Gassend.
Phil.Epic.
Synt.c.26.
de Orig.Ju-
vis.p.238,
239.
b *Leviath.*
c.13.p.63.

Mr. Hobbes. It may (*b*) peradventure be thought, there was never such a time, nor condition of War, as this now described; and I believe it was never generally so, over all the World: But there are many places where they live so now. For, the Savage people in many places of *America*, except the Government of small Families, the concord whereof dependeth on Natural Lust, have no Government at all, and live at this day in a brutish manner.

Stud. I am sorry that so much barbarousness being charged upon mankind, so little of the imputation can be fairly taken off. Yet that the condition of humane nature is not so very rude as you seem to represent it, appeareth from many passages in undoubted Story.

c *Just.Hist.*
l.2.p.18,19

Justin (*c*) in his Epitome of *Trogus Pompeius*, describeth the ancient *Scythians* in such a manner, that their behaviour seemeth to upbraid those people, who call themselves, The Civilized parts of the World. By him we are informed, 'That they had neither Houses, nor 'Enclosures of ground, but wander'd with their
'Cat le

'Cattle in solitary and untill'd Desarts; That
'Justice had honour derived, to it, not from
'positive Law, but from the good natures of
'the people. That no man was more odious
'amongst them, than the Invader of such
'things as were occupied by another. In con-
sideration of which inbred civility, the Histori-
an wisheth that the other Nations of the world
were followers of the *Scythick* Moderation; after
which, he thus concludeth. 'It may seem a
'matter fit to be admired, that Nature should
'bestow that upon the *Scythians*, which the
'*Grecians* themselves, though long instructed
'by the Doctrines and Precepts of Law-
'givers and Philosophers, have not at-
'tain'd to: and that formed manners
'should be excelled by uneducated Barba-
'rity.

But, let it be supposed that many brutish
Families in *America* [in whose stead you might
have rather mentioned the wilde *Arabs* (*a*)] are
so many dens of Robbers, and live by such
prey as their power and wiliness can provide
for them. Yet, by this instance, because it is
made in Families, where Government has place,
you rather overthrow than prove your suppo-
sed state of Nature. Wherefore, in a note added,
upon second thoughts, to your Book *de Cive*
(*b*), in order to a Solution of this Argument *b* De Cive,
[that the Son killing his Parent, in the state of
Nature, acteth unjustly] you subjoyn an An-
swer to this effect. A man cannot be under-
stood to be a son in the meer state of Nature,
seeing as soon as he is born he is under the
law-

a See Mar-
tyr. *Legat.*
Babylon.
l. 3. p. 81.

b De Cive,
c. 1. p. 14.

c *Ibid. Po-
testas, not
potentia.*

lawful (e) Power and Government of them to whom he oweth his conservation; to wit, of his Mother or Father, or to him who affords him Provisions of common life.

It is further to be marked, that one Family, as it stands separated from another, is as one Kingdom divided from the Territories of a Neighbouring Monarch. If therefore the state of Nature remaineth in a Family, not depending upon another Family, in places where there is no common Government; then all Kingdoms which have not made Leagues with one another, are at this day in the same state. Whereas they rather are in a state of defence dictated by prudence; and, as you say, in

a *Leviath.
p. 63.*

the posture (a) of Gladiators, having their swords pointing, and their eyes fixed on one another; than in a state of War, prompted by pride and insatiable ambition. And therefore no affront being offered to a foreign Prince before his Invasion, he is esteem'd both injurious and unjust, whilst for no other reason than his greedy Will, he thrusts inoffensive people out of ancient possession. I know you esteem all distinct Kingdoms in a state of War

b *See Lev.
p. 110.*

in relation to each other (b), and that therefore they have a right, if they have a power of invading: but he that consults *Grotius*, in his Book *de jure Belli & Pacis* (designed chiefly (c) to set forth the Rights, not of Domestick, but Forinick War) will not be much of your opinion; neither will he, easily be reconcil'd to the practice of the *Romans*, in *Petronius Arbiter*, (d) (a practice to which that of the

c *Vide
Grotii Pro-
logom.
d Si qua
foret tellus
qua futurum
mitteret au-
rum hostis
erat.*

Spa-

Spaniards is akin), who made forreign Nations to be Enemies, as Princes sometimes make their Subjects, Traytors; for the sake of their Riches.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I confess (e) that a great Family, if it be not part of some Commonwealth, is of it self, as to the Rights of Sovereignty, a little Monarchy: whether that Family consist of a man and his children; or of a man and his servants; or of a man and his children and servants together, wherein the Father or Master is the Sovereign. But yet a Family is not properly a Commonwealth; unless it be of that power by its own number, or by other opportunities, as not to be subdued without the hazard of War.

Stud. In those places, where there is no common Government (as of late amongst the *West-Arabs*, till their acceptance of *Muley Arsheid*, first for their General, and then their King) a Family may be called a small Kingdom, notwithstanding the meanness of its Power; because it can, as well, secure it self, against the assaults of another Family, as one Kingdom can withstand the opposition of another. For, we compare Family to Family, and not to a vast Empire, against whose mighty numbers, it is in vain to make resistance: For, if want of strength doth render a Family no Commonwealth, then, by the same reason, the Republicks of *Athens*, *Corinth*, *Lacedæmon*, and the rest, were properly no Republicks, because

cause they were but so many weak and little members, compar'd to the vast body of the *Greecian* Empire.

But, further: Were every man supposed loose, even from the yoke of Paternal Government, yet in such a state, there would be place, for the Natural Laws of good and evil.

For, first, there is in mankind, an ability of soul to ascend unto the knowledge of the first invisible cause (a) by the effects of his Power, and Wisdom, and Goodness, which are conspicuous in all the parts of his Creation. I say, an ability to know, not an actual acknowledgement, of the Being of a God. For the *Acrothoite* are said, by *Theophrastus* (b), to have been a Nation of Atheists; as also to have been swallow'd up by the gaping earth; undergoing a Judgement worthy that God whom their Imaginations banish'd out of the world. If, then, there be such ability in the minde of man, he is capable of sinning by himself, in the secretest retirement from the Societies and Laws of his Fellow-creatures; either by the supineness of his minde in being secure in Atheism, for want of exerting those powers, by exercise, which God hath implanted in him; or, by the ingratitude of his minde, by want of Love and Thankfulness to God, whom in speculation he confesseth to exist; the notion of a Deity including that of a Benefactor.

a De Cive,
c. 1. p. 250
b Ap. Simplic. Com.
in Epictet.
Enchir. p. 200
Ed. Cant.

Mr. Hobbes. I must acknowledge (c) that
it

it is not impossible, in the state of Nature, to sin against God.

Stud. A man may also, in that state, sin, by being injurious to himself.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Neither is that denyed, because (d) he may pretend that to be for his preservation, which neither is so, nor is so judged by himself. d De Cive, p. 14.

Stud. But he may, likewise, sin, with reference to himself in matters wherein no prejudice accrueth to his health, or outward safety. The instance may be made in Buggery with a Beast, which seemeth to be a sin against the order of God in Nature. This monstrous indecency, this detestable and abominable Vice (as the Statute calls it) is, by our Law (e), made Felony without Clergy; and this, surely, in regard it is rather a sin against Nature than Commonwealth; it being less noxious to Society, to humble, than to kill the owners beast, the latter of which is but a trespass.

e 25 Hen. 8. c. 6. s. 5 Elizabeth. c. 17.

Lastly, in relation to others, I cannot but judge, that one man espying another, and not discerning in him any tokens of mischief, but rather of submission; if being thus secure and unassaulted, he rusheth upon him, and so, to display his power, and please his tyrannous minde, bereaveth him of life; he is a murderer, in the account of God and man. The reason seemeth unstrained and cogent. For there is no such neer propriety to a man in any pos-

session as in that of life; which a man, as to this state, can no more forego then he can part with himself: neither can the Right be more confirmed to him than his own Personality. Wherefore, in no condition of mankind, can it be forfeited but by his own default or consent. But in meer self-defence there's no murther, because one life being apparently in hazard, it is reason that the assaulted man should esteem his own more dearly than his enemies. It is easie to understand on which side to act, when it is come to this pass, that (as the *Italians* say of War (*a*), We must either be spectators of other mens deaths, or spectacles of our own.

*a ci bisogna
essere spettatori
dell'altrui morte,
o spettacolo
della nostra.*

Moreover, it appeareth, unto me, not altogether improbable, that in this feigned state of Nature, unjust robbery may have place. For, in this community there being sufficient portions, both for the necessity and convenience, of all men; if one shall intrude into the possession of another who is contented with a modest share, being moved onely by ambition and wantonness of minde; he seemeth to be no other than an unrighteous aggressor. For all men being, by you, supposed of equal right, the advantage of pre-occupancy on the one side, does turn the scale, if natural justice holds the ballance: For it is in Law, an old Maxime, *In pari jure, melior est conditio Possidentis*. Wherefore, if any person endeavours, by such unnatural practises, as I have mention'd, to encrease his outward safety, or brutish delight, he, in truth, destroyeth by his iniquity more
of

of himself than he can preserve by his ambition and lust. And he may be resembled to a rash Seaman, who out of presumed pleasure in swimming, throws himself headlong into a boisterous Sea; temporal delight and preservation by sin, being the ready way to bottomless ruine.

By what hath been said, I am induced to believe, that there is not onely iniquity, but injustice too, in a meer state of Nature; although neither of them be capable of such aggravations, or are extended to so many instances, as in that state, where men live under positive Commands. For, to make instance, not in the lower restraints of fishing, fowling, hunting; but in the more considerable case of promiscuous mixtures; such practice seemeth not so much condemned by the Law of Nature, as by Custom, and the commands of *Moses*, and Christ, and Christian Magistrates, and heathen powers. For the most holy God would never have begun the World by one Man and Woman, whose Posterity must needs be propagated by the mixtures of their Sons and Daughters, if what we call *Incest*, had been inconsistent with any immutable Law of Reason and Nature. Neither would he have allowed the Patriarchs in Polygamy, if it had been in truth an absolute evil; and not rather, in some circumstances of time and place, and persons, fit and convenient. Neither is there, in these matters, any consent of Nations, who have no other instructor besides Nature: for, the *Garamantici* married not; but engendred as the

Monsters at the Springs of *Africa*. And *Selenus* gave his own Wife to his Son *Antiochus*, and then passed it into a Law. And *Socrates* the great pretender to Moral Prudence, esteemed it a civility to his Friend to permit his wife to enter into his imbraces. Wherefore *St. Paul* affirming that the taking of the Father's wife, was a Fornication not once named amongst the Gentiles, is to be understood of their general abhorrence of *Incest*. And *Ælian's* Reading or Memory was but narrow, when (a) in contemplation of the victorious *Sicyonians* deflowering the *Pellenean* Virgins, he cried out 'These practices, by the gods of *Gracia*, are very cruel, and, as far as I remember, not approved of by the veriest Barbarians.

a . *Æl. l. 6.*
var. Hist.
ap. Grot.
de Jur. bel.
& pac. p.
 464.

And, as I think, it must be granted to you, that such consent of Nations, as may seem to argue a common principle, whence it is derived; is not easily, and in many cases, found by those who look beyond the usages of *Europe*, and the Colonies planted by the *Europeans*. For Pagans (unless it be in the acknowledgement of God, in which most agree) do infinitely differ, not onely from Jews and Christians, but from one another, and from their very selves also in process of time. And those who liv'd but an hundred years ago, before the strange improvement of Navigation and Merchandize, could understand but little of the manners of distant Nations; the Traffick being then in a few Port-towns which held little Commerce with the Inland-inhabitants at any

any remoteness. Yet is there not hence to be taken such licentious advantage, as if there were no Law of Nature. For how various soever the opinions and customs of several Nations are; in this, they all agree, that good is to be done, and evil to be shunned: which were a vain determination, if it never descended from a general sense, to particularness of direction, which is the immediate rule of manners: for it is this or that good which is to be done, and good in general is an unpracticable notion. Again, there may be eternal Laws of good and evil, though all consent not in them; because the understanding and manners of men, are depraved and debauch'd by custom, and the several arts of our common Enemy; insomuch that divers appear to be men rather in shape and speech, than by severe Reason, the law and rule of Life. And here, let it be noted also, that such virtues as a man out of society cannot practice, as, some sorts of justice, gratitude, modesty, and mercy, are laws eternal in the reason of them, because it can never come to pass that, with advantage to society, they may be banish'd out of a Commonwealth, though the temporal interest of a single person is often advanced upon the ruine of such sociable virtues. And indeed all the Laws of Nature, which relate to certain states, though alterable in the alteration of circumstances, yet, in the reasons of them, they are everlasting: And Reason that bids a man obey his Father, bids him, in some cases, obey not man but God: and yet the reason is un-

unchangeable on which both depend ; to wit,
of Allegiance to the Higher Authority.

a *Leviath.*
p. 18, 19.

Mr. *Hobbes*. If now, it were agreed upon, amongst men, what right Reason is, the controverſie would be immediately ended. Reason (a) it ſelf is always right Reason. —

But no one mans Reason, nor the Reason of any one number of men, makes the certainty : But the Reason of ſome Arbitrator, or Judge, to whoſe ſentence men will ſtand: When men that think themſelves wiſer than all others, clamor and demand right Reason for Judge ; they ſeek no more, but that things ſhould be determin'd, by no other mens Reason, but their own : and this is as intolerable in the ſociety of men, as it is in play after trump is turned, to uſe for trump, on every occaſion, that ſuit whereof they have moſt in their hand. For they do nothing elſe, that will have every of their paſſions, as it comes to bear ſway in them, to be taken for right Reason, and that in their own controverſies : bewraying their want of right Reason by the claim they lay to it (b).

b See *Lev.*
p. 79, 80.

Stud. I cannot but ſay that prejudice and ſelf-interest doth blind the underſtanding, and cauſe it to put evil for good; and humor, and education, and profit, for reaſon; & that an unconcern'd judge decideth a difference, to the commodity not only of peace, but of truth and right. But ſeeing it is ſuppoſed that an Arbitrator can pronounce ſuch a righteous ſentence ; it followeth that he hath ſome ſtanding Rule whereby to guide

guide his judgment. This is not always the behoof of Society; but it may be known, and it may oblige a man considered by himself; and it concerneth the Hermite, and the shipwrack't person, who is unfortunately cast upon an uninhabited Island.

Now the right Reason, which, together with the superadded act of Conscience, is the Law of Nature, consisteth in the notice of that moral congruity or proportion which is betwixt the action (of mind, or tongue, or hand), and the object, considered relatively in their proper circumstances. That our minds can compare the act and object, or discern whether they are congruous or incongruous, equal or unequal, is plain enough by the daily operations of our Faculties; the truth of which none but a profess'd Sceptick, calleth in Question; being mov'd thereto, rather by capricious humour, than strength of his argument, the reason of which is destroy'd by his very Hypothesis, that, Nothing is certain. And he that calleth our Faculties into Question, doth raze the foundations of the Mathematicks as well as of moral Doctrine, and leaves no more place for the foot of *Archimedes*, than of *Socrates*. For it is as manifest by the comparative operations of our minds, that hatred (for instance) and disrespect, towards that Being on which we depend for what we are and have, is an unequal, and disproportion'd carriage, as that a crooked line is unequal to a straight one lying between the same terms.

The like may be said of killing an innocent

man whom we know to have been such , and whose continuance in integrity we suspect not; and of the abusing a benefactor. And he that justifieth such returns , may with equal truth and reason , maintain , that the shortest Garment of *David* is well proportion'd to the properest stature of *Saul* or *Goliath*. Now to this perception of moral congruity betwixt the Action and the Object, considered in their proper circumstances in relation to mens manners, is added an act of Conscience in all those who attend to the Laws of their Nature , as Rules imprinted in them by the Governour of the World, who made them what they are ; and consequently as the rules of his will in such manner declared to them : and from thence what is reasonable passeth into a Law. And as the mind of man perceiveth this proportion or conformity, greater or less, he knoweth, in some sort, the measure of his obligation. And when he perceiveth the incongruity to be very little, he concludeth it to be a Counsel, rather than a Law ; yet will he be moved by that which *Ovid* calleth, *decor Recti*, if he be endued with a generous nature.

From hence it is manifest, that some primary rules of good and evil , carry a reason with them so immutable , in the eternal connexion of their terms , that with modesty enough we may use, concerning them , that boast of *Ovid*, touching his own works : affirming, that neither the rage of *Jupiter*, nor the most devouring fire, or war , nor what consumeth more than they both, even Time it self , can abolish
and

and destroy them. And this was the meaning of those in *Aristotle* (a), who believed that what was natural was immoveable, and of the same force in all places, as fire burneth here and also in *Persia*. And this they mean, who affirm, that God cannot lye, or deny, or hate himself, or approve of him that hateth him, or adoreth him contrary to his declared will; and that he cannot torture a man, supposed innocent, with never-ceasing misery.

a *Aristot.*
de mor. l. 3.
c. 10. p. 24.

Mr *Hobs.* There is no rule which God may not most justly break, because he is Almighty. This I know (b) God cannot sin, because his doing a thing makes it just, and consequently no sin. Power (c) irresistible justifieth all actions really and properly, in whomsoever it be found; less power does not: and because such power is in God only, he must needs be just in all his actions; and we who, not comprehending his Counsels, call him to the Bar, commit injustice in it. And I know that (d) God may afflict by a right derived from his Omnipotence, though sin were not.

b *Lib. 1.*
Nec p. 24.

c *ib. p. 22.*

d *ib. p. 42.*

Stud. Far be it from me to say, that God can be suppos'd to sin, because there is no Lord superior to him: but, That he would break the rule of eternal Reason, if he should let his power loose, and do whatsoever might be done, whether with agreeableness or contradiction to his most excellent Nature; thousands have thought it, neither can they perswade themselves into another belief. It is true that
God

God might, temporally, have afflicted or annihilated man if he had lived in a state of uprightness and integrity. For, there is a strict justice observed in this case, whilst God freely taketh away what he freely gave, or sendeth a calamity to which life is preferr'd by the reasonable choice of man. But to afflict a man extremely and eternally without the intervention of any sin, is to send a torment which doth infinitely outweigh the good of naked existence, and therefore is, by *Curcellam* (e) and divers others of that School, esteem'd inconsistent with that Justice which is inseparable from the first Cause: it being absurd to think that such Justice is not a perfection; and as absurd to imagine that there should be such a perfection in a created Soul, and not in the self-originated mind. Therefore *Chrysippus*, and the Stoicks did make God the Original of Right. And some (f) derived *Jus* from *Jupiter*. And *Abraham*, the Friend of God, made this expostulation for which he had no rebuke; *Wilt thou destroy the Righteous with the Wicked? And again, this also, Shall not the Judge of all the Earth do right?* An Agent, armed with power irresistible, though he cannot be withstood in that action of his which might produceth, yet may he be justly condemned for unreasonable proceedings. A man who being bound hand and foot, has a fatal knife put to his throat (in which case the Power is irresistible in respect of his body, as much as if it were omnipotence) such a one cannot help himself; but he may judge without either falshood or partiality, that if in that

e Curcell.
de Jur.
Dei in
Creat. in-
nocent. p. 5,
&c.

f Ap. Grot.
de Jur. Bel.
in Proleg.

that manner he is butchered, without regard to any crime, the practice is both cowardly and unmerciful. But further, if the Deity justifieth all by power, and can do rightly whatsoever may be done by Omnipotence (and for that reason;) then all the Arguments of the Christian Apologists against the Gentiles (the barbarous and lascivious practices of whole supposed Gods they judged enough to overthrow their Divinity, and therefore represented at large their Immoralities) were weak and unconvincing: for there was room of replying, that such manners were not to be reprov'd, because the powers above them could so behave themselves without controul. To conclude, whilst by the absolute Sovereignty of God, you affront his other Attributes, you set up an Omnipotent Devil in a worse sense than *Manes* the Persian, who being seduced by the Fable of his Countrey, concerning *Orimaza* and *Arcimanius*, asserted a Supreme evil; but did not, directly, exclude the Supreme good out of the world. See, then, how you reproach the Author of all good, by such an imputation of arbitrary Government, and of imperious will which standeth for a Reason; whereby you take away the most ingenuous motive to Religion, Love and Reverence, produced by a conception of God as one who (a) hath the power to do unto us both good and hurt, but not the will to do us hurt. Remember, also, that the Atheists, in the Book of *Wisdom* (b) who taught after this manner, That the Soul was a little spark in the moving of the heart,

a See Hum.
Nat. p. 89.

b VVisd. 2
2, 3, 10, 11.

said

said likewise, Let us oppress the poor righteous man, let us not spare the widow, nor reverence the ancient gray hairs of the Aged. *Let our strength be the Law of Justice*; for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth. Thus want of Reason is betray'd by those bold Writers, who slacken the Laws of good and evil.

c See De
Cive, c. 2,
3.p.18,36.
and Lev.

c.14,15.p.
64, &c.

d Lev.p.78

e Lev.p.79

Mr. *Hobbes*. Notwithstanding all this clamour, you may find in my own Books, divers Laws of Nature (e) no fewer than nineteen (d) set down, and dignified with the Epithet of Eternal (e).

Stud. You have, indeed, mention'd certain Natural Laws; but you have not derived them from the Reason and Equity of their Nature, but from carnal self-preservation; and call'd them eternal, not from the unalterable connexion of the terms, but because they always conduce (in your opinion) to the temporal peace and safety of single persons: which if it may, at any time be advanced by the violation of such Laws (as is manifest in every Usurpers breach of Faith and Love) they cannot oblige in that instance, because the Reason of them (such a Reason as you have imagined) is then taken away.

And doubtless upon this account, the Fundamentals of your Policy are Hay and Stubble, and apter to set all things into a blaze, than to support Government, and (what we are in the eighth place to discuss)

The

The Laws of Society.

For, if men be lawless in a state of Nature, and for the meer sake of temporal and personal security, do enter into Covenants, and are obliged to Justice, and Modesty, and Gratitude, and other such-like sociable vertues, only because they conduce to our peace, and to the keeping of us from the deplorable condition of a war of every man against every man; then when any subject shall have fair hopes of advancing himself by treading down Authority, and trampling upon the Laws in a prosperous Rebellion; what is it, according to your Principles, which can oblige him to refuse the opportunity? If it be said that one Covenant is this, that we must keep the rest; it will be again inquired, what Law engageth men to keep that Pact, seeing there is no Law of more antient descent, unless it be that of self-preservation? for the sake of which (as it includeth not meer safety, but delight also, as you have stated it (a) and display of Power) we suppose *a Lev. 9. 61* the Covenants to be broken. So that, without the obligation laid upon us by Fidelity (the Law of God Almighty in our Nature) antecedent to all humane Covenants; such Pacts will become but so many loose materials, without the main binder, in the fence of the Commonwealth, which will, therefore be trodden down, or broken through, by every herd of unruly men. Men are apt to violate what they esteem

esteem most just and sacred, for the sake of Reigning; and they will be, much more, encouraged to break all Oaths of Duty and Allegiance, when they once believe, that their ascent into the Throne, and Possession of the Supreme Power, like the coming of the reputed Heir unto the Crown, as in the case of *Henry the Seventh* (*b*), doth immediately clear a man of all former Attaindors.

a *Lord Bacon in H.*
7.p.13.

b *Lev.p.73* Mr. *Habbes*. This specious (*b*) Reasoning is, nevertheless, false: For when a man doth a thing, which, notwithstanding any thing can be foreseen, and reckoned on, tendeth to his own destruction, howsoever some accident which he could not expect, arriving, may turn it to his benefit; yet such events do not make it reasonably or wisely done ——— As for the instance of attaining Sovereignty by Rebellion; it is manifest, that though the event follow, yet because it cannot reasonably be expected, but rather the contrary; and because by gaining it so, others are taught to gain the same in like manner, the attempt thereof is against Reason. Justice therefore, that is to say, keeping of Covenant, is a rule of Reason, by which we are forbidden to do any thing destructive to our life; and consequently, a Law of Nature.

Stud. This then is the Doctrine of *Politicks*, in which you so much applaud your self; and of the same strain with the pernicious Book, entitu-

entituled, *Natures Dowry* (a), printed the year after the *Leviathan* : That Rebellion is not iniquity, if, upon probable grounds, it becomes prosperous : that he who usurps not like a Politician, is therefore a Villain, because he is a Fool : That all the Usurpers in the World stepping up into the Throne, by means likely to further their ascent, pursue the Fundamental Law of Nature, and are rightful and undoubted Sovereigns : That the Earl of Essex, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* (who, after some stain of Fame in *Ireland*, in the days of a popular Queen, and in a time when he had potent enemies for strength and head-piece, such as *Cecil* and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, appeared with a small company, upon presumption of the Queens love in case he should miscarry, and upon hopes of the multitude not formed to his purpose (by confederacie) was a Rebel and a Traytor, because he was a weak and unfortunate Politician ; but that *Oliver* (who was led on by success to things he never dreamt of in the days of his Poverty, and saw the power of the King declining ; and was as sure of being Protector, as a King can be (upon your grounds) of remaining Sovereign, by the inclination of the Soldiery, and possession of the *Militia* ; and therefore usurp'd upon as sure foundations of self-interest, as the Nature of Civil Affairs admitteth of) was, by the direct consequence of your opinion, a lawful Prince, a man of inestimable merit and renown, worthy the Government of thrice three Kingdoms, of dying in his bed,

and

a 1652.p.
31. Cited
by the
Learned A.
of the F.D.
in Append.
p.123. Those
Christians
who lived
under the
Heathens
Emperors,
but wanted
strength to
defend
themselves,
were by
that Pre-
cept (Rom.
13.1) ob-
liged to sit
still, and to
endeavour
nothing a-
gainst those
that had
the sword
in their
hands, &c.

and of a fame too wide to be contain'd betwixt the *Dencalidonian* and *British* Ocean. No, no, there are words more agreeable to his merit, and they have nothing Poetick in them besides the genuine strain of Verse.

Curst be the man (what do I wish ? as though

The wretch already were not so ;

But curst on let him be) who thinks it brave

And great, his Countrey to enslave ;

Who seeks to overpoise alone

The Balance of a Nation,

Against the whole but naked State ;

*Who in his own light scale makes up with Arms
the weight.*

b H. Cen.
fd. p. 12.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I have written concerning *O-liver (b)*, that his Titles and actions were equally unjust.

cT.VWhite
of Obed. and
Govern.

17 ground
p. 144, &c.
to 156, 1e-
cond Edit.
publised
London
1655.

Stud. This you wrote indeed, but since the return of his Sacred Majesty, who, if men had pursu'd your destructive Principles, and judg'd his Right to have ceased with his Power, had for ever been destitute of any other Throne, than what had been erected in the hearts of the *Loyal*. Mr. *White*, also, the part-boy'd Romanist, who is honour'd with the Title of, *Most Learned*, in the scurrilous Preface to your Book of Fate, declar'd in English, in an unhappy time, (c) that a dispossessed Prince ought neither to be desired, nor, to endeavour to return, if the people think themselves to be well, and their Trade and Employment be undisturb'd.

And

And he addeth also : " Who can answer they
 " shall be better by the return of the dispossessed
 " party? Surely, in common presumption, the
 gainer is like to defend them better then he
 who lost it. Certainly for this sentence, at
 such a time published to this Nation, if for no
 other cause, his Books ought to be burnt in Eng-
 land, as well as some of them have been con-
 demned at Rome; unless we suppose the crab-
 bedness of the style, and the obicureness and
 weakness of the Reasoning in them, may tempt
 the Author, when better informed, to save
 Authority the labour of it. Dr. Bailly likewise,
 revolting from the Church of England, forsok
 his Loyalty at the same time, and carested O-
 liver, and hop'd that, by his means, the Pope
 might come again, and set his Imperial feet up-
 on the neck of English Princes: For he con-
 cludes his Legend (a) of the Bishop of Roche-
 ster, after this manner.

" Thus we see Gods Justice in the destruction
 " of the Churches Enemies ; (meaning Thomas
 " Cromwel, Vicar-general of the Church under
 " Henry the eighth, and spoiler of Religious
 " Houses): who knows but that he may help
 " her to such Friends, though not such as may
 " restore her own Jewels, yet such as may heal
 " her of her wounds? And who knows but that
 " it may be effected by the same name? *Oliva*
 " *vera* is not so hard to be construed *Oliverus*, as
 " that it may not be believed, that a Prophet ra-
 " ther then an Herald, gave the common Father
 " of Christendom, the now Pope of Rome, (*In-*
 " *nocent the Tenth*) such Ensignes of his Nobi-

a O. B. life
 of Bishop
 Fisher, pub-
 lished the
 same year
 with Mr.
 VVhites
 Book Lon-
 don. pag.
 260, &c.

“lity (*viz.* a Dove holding an Olive-branch in
 “her mouth) since it falls short in nothing of
 “being both a Prophecie and fulfilled, but
 “onely his Highness running into her arms,
 “whose Embleme of Innocence bears him al-
 “ready in her mouth. These Romanists and
 your self agree too well in owning of Usurpers,
 and measuring right by the length of the sword:
 and therefore when such Politicians say, that
Olivers Titles and Actions were equally un-
 just, they are to be understood in such a sense, as
 when we say of a very Dunce, that he is equal-
 ly a Logician and a Grammarian, that is, in
 truth neither.

b H. Conf.
p. 18, 19. Mr. *Hobbes*. Believe me Sir, my *Leviathan*
 was written when *Oliver* was but General (*b*)
 who had not yet cheated the Parliament of their
 usurped power: [and I never had a kindness
 for him or them. I lived peaceably under his
 Government, at my return from *France*, and so
 did the Kings Bishops also.] Of the Bishops
c H. Confid.
p. 11, 12. that then were (*c*) — there was not one that
 followed the King out of the Land, though
 they loved him, but lived quietly under the pro-
 tection, first of the Parliament, and then of *O-*
liver (whose Titles and Actions were equally
 unjust) without treachery.

Stud. That this is false, your own Consci-
 ence will inform you; for the then Lord Bi-
 shop of *London-derry* (a man of whom; to your
 cost, you have heard) convey'd himself be-
 yond the Seas, and was not there unmindful of
 the

the Kings interest; although he hath not boasted of his Travels, as you are wont to do of your living at *Paris*. Let the testimony of Bishop *Taylor*, who was as likely as any man to know and report the truth, decide the controversie: his words are these. (c) 'God having still resolved to afflict us, the good man was forc'd into the fortune of the Patriarchs, to leave his Country and his Charges, and seek for safety and bread in a strange Land. — This worthy man took up his Cross, and followed his Master. — At his leaving the Low-Countries upon the Kings return, some of the Remonstrant Ministers (d) coming to take their leaves of this great man, and desiring that, by his means, the Church of *England* would be kinde to them; he had reason to grant it, because they were learned men, and in many things, of a most excellent belief: yet he reprov'd them, and gave them caution against it, that they approached too near, and gave too much countenance to the great and dangerous errors of the *Socinians*. He thus having served God and the King abroad, God was pleas'd to return to the King and to us all.

c Bp. T.
Fam. ser. p.
49, 50.

d P. 56, 57.

As for divers others of them, some were imprisoned, and others were by reason of Age, not so apt for forraign travel: and at home, they promoted the cause of their Sovereign, which, if all zealous Loyalists had with-drawn themselves, would, by degrees, have dyed away: and because they refused the Oaths impos'd, at the peril of their lives, and of their fortunes,

(which though they were but little, were their all,) they therefore are not to be judged treacherous in undermining the usurped Government, or disloyal to the King in enjoying protection under *Oliver*, whom they neither arm'd, nor owned in power: neither do you, here, take notice of the great number of loyal Priests, of which, some fled beyond the Seas, and others, staying in the Land, were, for the sake of their Allegiance, exposed to as great dangers as the roughest sea could have threatned them with: but it is the manner of some men, to wound true Royalty and Religion through the sides of Ecclesiastick Officers.

a H. Con.
9-43, 44.

b Lev. c.
21 p. 114.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I have not said this to upbraid the Bishops, nor ever (a) spake I ill of any of them, as to their persons: and against their Office I never writ any thing. I never wrote (I say) against Episcopacie; and it is my private opinion, that such an Episcopacie as is now in *England*, is the most commodious that a Christian King can use for the governing of Christs Flock: [and if they submitted to *Oliver* they did justly, being then absolved of their obedience to their Sovereign]: for the (b) obligation of subjects to the Sovereign, is understood to last as long, and no longer, then the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them. — The end of obedience is protection; which, wheresoever a man seeth it, either in his own, or in anothers sword, Nature applyeth his obedience to it, and his *endeavours to maintain it*.

Stud.

Stud. You have here, according as the nature of falshood requireth, backed one untruth with a second: for, in your *Leviathan*(c), you called Episcopacie a Præterpolitical Church-Government, and preferred Independencie above all other forms; for, at that time, it was gotten uppermost, and seem'd the growing interest; and Presbytery decayed: the truth is, the latter declin'd before the death of the King, to whose fall, that Party was loath to give the last thrust: but when your *Leviathan* came forth, the house of Lords had been voted useles, and the members that had voted the Kings concessions a ground for the House to proceed to a settlement, were seclused; and the dregs of the House were Anabaptists and Independents: soon after this (d) you, thus libel'd, that Government which was, then by right, his present Majesties:

The Analysis, of the Pontifical Power, is by the same way, the Synthesis or construction was; but beginneth with the knot that was last tyed (the Popes Supremacie); as we may see in the dissolution of the Præterpolitical Church-Government in England. First the power of the Popes was dissolved totally by Queen Elizabeth; and the Bishops, who before, exercised their Functions in right of the Pope, did afterwards exercise the same, in the right of the Queen and her successors, though by retaining the Phrase of Jure divino, they were thought to demand it, by immediate right from God: and so was untied the first knot. After this, the Presbyterians lately in England

d Members
seclused,
Feb. 1.

1648.
Lords voted
down, Feb.
6. 1648.

Lev. pub.
Lond.
1651.

obtained the putting down of Episcopacie : and so was the second knot dissolved : and almost at the same time, the power was taken also from the Presbyterians : and so we are reduced to the Independencie of the Primitive Christians, to follow Paul, or Cephas, or Apollos, every man as be liketh best : which, if it be without contention, and without measuring the doctrine of Christ, by our affection to the person of his Minister (the fault which the Apostle reprehended in the Corinthians) is perhaps the best. Wherefore speak no more of your reverence for Episcopacie, whilst you have cryed hail to it, and yet betraid it : neither is it for you to pretend to loyalty, who, when one asked what was the price of a Roman penny, amidst a Discourse of our Civil Wars, (whilst his thoughts were guided by a train, from, our Wars, to the delivering of the King, from that to the delivering of Christ, from that to the thirty pence received by Judas, and from that to the value of the Roman penny) call'd this, in Print, (a) a Malicious question, in the days of the Parliament : as if it were malice, and not just zeal, which occasioned his comparing of the Martyrdom of King Charles to the death of the blessed Jesus. It is not, for you, to pretend to loyalty, who place right in force, and teach the people to assist the Usurper, with active compliance, against a dispossessed Prince ; and not meerly to live, at all adventure, in his Territories, without owning the protection by unlawful oaths, or by running into arms against their dethroned Sovereign.

a Lev. p. 5.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I cannot but place the right of
 (a) Government there, wheresoever the ^{a H. Conf.}
 strength shall be; [whatsoever be the ignomi-
 nious terms with which you revile me.]

Stud. I say then again, (and I neither re-
 vile nor slander you, unless it can be done by
 the repetition of the truth) that you give en-
 couragement to Usurpers; and also, when ci-
 vil discords are on foot (as it happens too fre-
 quently in all States) you, hereby move such
 people as are yet on the side of their lawful
 Prince, whose affairs they see declining, strait-
 way to adjoyn themselves to the more prospe-
 rous party, and to help to overturn those
 thrones of Sovereignty, at which, a while be-
 fore, they prostrated themselves: For, in your
 way of reasoning, they have a right to preserve
 or delight themselves, by any course of means,
 and can be best protected by the prevailing side,
 which because it hath more degrees of growing
 power, has it seemeth, therefore more of right.
 The people thus mis-instructed, will imitate
 those idolatrous Heathens, who, for some years,
 worshipped a presumed Goddess made fast unto
 an Oak: but as soon as the Tree began, by Age
 and Tempest, to appear decaying, they pay'd
 no further devotion to their Deity, neither
 would they come within the shadow of the
 Oak or Image.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Against this abuse of what I
 have taught, I have made provision, by inser-
 ting this amongst other Laws of Nature, that

a Lev. p.
390. in the
Review.

(*a*) every man is bound by nature, as much as in him lies, to protect in War the Authority, by which he is himself protected in time of Peace.

b De Cive,
L. 1. c. 1. p. 12
Sect. 9.

c Lev. p. 48.

Stud. That Law was forgotten in the body of your *Leviathan*, and cometh late into the review: the wound is first made, and then you endeavour to skin it over; but neither can it so be closed: for this and all other Laws of Nature obliging no further (as hath been already noted) then they promote the first, the Law of self-interest; it is in the choice of every subject (whom (*b*) you make Judge of the means to preserve himself,) to apply himself to the stronger side; or for a company combin'd in arms and counsel, when an Heir and a Traytor are engag'd in battle with equal success (as was the practice of the Lord *Stanley*, and Sir *William Stanley* and their adherents in the Engagement at *Bosworth-field*) to give the day to the side they presume will most favour them, by over-possing the power of the other side, by their fresh supply. Fear will not keep men from such attempts; especially fear of outward punishment, whilst every one hopes to conquer, and to mend his game (as you well (*c*) know) by a new shuttle; and is by you misperswaded, that failing in the enterpoise, to his temporal peril, is his only offence against the Law of Nature. There is no tie so strong as that of Religion, which eternally bindeth a conscientious subject in allegiance to his Sovereign: and Wars arise from mens self-interests and lusts: and true goodness is both the Creator and Pre-
server

server of Peace : unless a man obeyeth for Conscience sake , all the cords of outward Pacts and Covenants will not hold him , when he dreameth that the *Philistins* are upon him, and that he can deliver himself by force from the power of his Enemies ; in which number the Prince himself is reckon'd, by ambitious Subjects, out of favour : neither will such Covenants hold the people that pretend unto Religion, if they be mis-taught that God is glorified in their private good, and that their private good is to be valued before the life of a Prince, if they can safely deprive him of it. For it is truly said by a Friend of yours, (a) That zeal, like lead, is as ready to drop into bullets, as to mingle with a composition fit for medicine.

*a Memoires
of Q. E. p.
53.*

Mr. *Hobbes*. Covenants (b) being but words, and breath, have no force to oblige, contain, constrain, or protect any man, but what it has from the publick Sword. The Laws of Nature (c) (as Justice, Equity, Modesty, Mercie, and (in sum) doing to others as we would be done to) of themselves, without the terror of some power, to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our natural passions, that carry us to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And Covenants without the Sword, are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all.

*b Lev. p. 89.
See p. 87.*

c Lev. p. 85.

Stud. The matter is much mended by this answer ; and you who cause or permit (for with you they are the same) a person, of none of the best manners, in a Preface to your Book of Destiny

stiny, to revile the Embassadors of our Lord, and to levie against them, not the force of argument, but of foaming malice, and to reproach them by saying that they are ignorant Tinkers, and Soderers of Conscience; how do you merit the same mock-name, by making wide holes and passages for every rebellious spirit, instead of stopping an Objection which charged your Doctrine with disloyalty? For thus, Society is like a State of Nature, and all is managed still by force, notwithstanding the formalities of transferring Right by Pacts; and every man is to stand no longer to his bargain, when he can break it to his advantage: And thus, the Prince is always in a state of danger, because he cannot be, a day, secure, of remaining uppermost; seeing the people are taught, by you, to believe, that the right of Authority is a deceit, and that every one would have as good a title, if he had as long a sword: For the many-headed Beast will throw the Rider when he burthens and galls them, having no check of inward Law. For the Prince has but the strength of a single man, and the people can't confer irresistible Power, unless when they lift up their hands on high, they can give up their nerves, and muscles, and spirits, as well as testifie their present approbation. Wo to all the Princes upon earth, if this Doctrine be true, and becometh popular: if the multitude believe this, the Prince, not armed with the scales of the *Leviathan*, that is, with irresistible power, can never be safe from the Spears and Barbed irons, which their ambition and presumed interest will provide

vide, and their malice will sharpen, and their passionate violence throw against him. If the Beast, we speak of, come but to know its own strength, it will never be managed: Wherefore such as own these pernicious Doctrines, destructive to all Societies of men, may be said to have Wolves heads, as the Laws of old, were wont to speak concerning excommunicated Persons; and are, like those ravenous beasts, so far from deserving our love and care, that they ought to be destroyed at the common charge. What you have written three times over, in your *de Cive*, *de Corpore politico*, and *Leviathan*, ought rather to be esteemed Seeds of sedition, then Elements of government and society: the Principles of the Zealots amongst the Papists (who obey a Forreign Power against the King) are not consistent with the government of *England*; yet, like the Elements in *Aristotle*, they are not burthensome in their proper place of *Italy*: but of such large infection is your doctrine, that it will endanger the life of the Commonwealth, wheresoever it is entertained in the consequences of it.

Mr. Hobbes. At *Paris* (a) I wrote my Book *a H. Conf.*
de Cive in Latine — and I know no book more *p. 7.*
magnified then that beyond the Seas. Natural
Philosophy (b) is but young; but civil Philo- *b Ep. ded.*
sophy yet much younger, as being no older (I before *de*
say it provoked, and that my detractors may Corpore.
know how little they have wrought upon me)
then my own book *de Cive*: a short (c) sum of *c Six Less.*
that book of mine, now publickly in French, *p. 36.*
done

done by a Gentleman I never saw, carrieth the title of *Esicks demonstrated*: accuse not these such Politicks as are, though new, yet of sure foundation.

Stud. Your Doctrine is old enough, and with it had one property of Age, to be attended with decay. *Carneades* and divers others bottom'd Politie on self-interest, and you have only wire-drawn that which is delivered by them in a lump: and for this, as is the manner of divers who have an itch of writing, you claw your self. I could repeat to you, divers sayings of the antient deceivers in Morality; such as are, *Armatus leges ut cogitem? nec natura potest iusto discernere iniquum*, ——— *militas iusti prope mater & equi*, and the like: but you would then turn all off, by deriding me for having made a motly Oration. Whilst you were so conversant with *Thucydides*; the Oration of *Euphemus* (*d*) delivered there, might have hinted to you your sandy Politicks: for that *Athenian* Embassador to the *Camarinai*, amongst other things tending much that way, at last plainly told them, that to a Governor nothing which was profitable was dishonest or unreasonable: which Doctrine, because it invites ambitious men to step into Authority, when the door is open, and mercenary Souldiers to decide a dispute, not in-favour of the right, but the most profitable side; because it moveth them that are Supreme to become Tyrants in the exercise of that Power, which Religion ought to limit, though the people may not, and to make their

d Thucyd.
l. 6. p. 467.
Ἀνδρὶ Δ
τοῦ αἰσίου,
ὁ ὅλως
ἀρχὴν
ἐχούσῃ,
ὡς δὲ ἀλλο-
τρίῳ δ, τὶ
ἐμπόδιον.

their passions their chief Rules, and to Govern with Armies rather than Laws, or, if with both, to die their Flags, and to write their Edicts, in the blood of whom they please: because, I say, it taketh off all the sense of what we call humanity from the Supreme Powers, & so, not unlike to a *Port a Sabina*, lets in innumerable evils upon such people as are quiet and modest; it therefore ought, no more to be sucked in, by Prince or People, than pernicious air in time of common Pestilence.

Mr. Hobbes. I perceive, you are no great friend to the most absolute Sovereignty of Princes, notwithstanding the Scripture alloweth of it. Concerning the Right (a) of Kings, God himself by the mouth of Samuel, (b) saith, *This shall be the right of the King you will have to Reign over you. He shall take your Sons, and set them to drive his Chariots, and to be his Horsemen, and to run before his Chariots; and gather in his harvest; and to make his engines of War, and instruments of his Chariots; and shall take your Daughters to make perfumes, to be his Cooks and Bakers. He shall take your Fields, your Vineyards, and your Olive-yards, and give them to his Servants. He shall take the Tythe of your Corn and Wine, and give it to the men of his Chamber, and to his other Servants. He shall take your man-servants, and your maid-servants, and the choice of your youth, and employ them in his business. He shall take the Tythe of your Flocks; and you shall be his Servants. This is absolute Power, and summed up in the last words, You shall*

a *Lev. 1. 10.*
b *1 Sam. 8. 11, 12, &c.*

be his Servants. Again, when the people hear what power their King was to have, yet they consented thereto, and say thus, (a) *We will be as all other Nations, and our King shall judge our causes, and go before us, to conduct our Wars.*

a Verse 10

Stud. If you will render ~~us~~ rather Right, than Manner or Custome; you may not understand it of the Righteousness of the Impositions, but of the Tyrants Right obliging the people to non-resistance: for *Samuel*, here sets not forth such Qualities as God approveth of in his Lieutenants; but endeavoureth to affright the people from exchanging Theocracie for Monarchy, by describing the Heathen-Potentates in the dreadful extravagancies of their abused Power. And the Answer of the people, is rather to be called the madness of their will, than their consent for they resolv'd, let what would come on, not to be out of the fashion of the Gentile Nations. and yet they promised to themselves Justice and Defence from the presence of a Monarch, notwithstanding *Samuels* amazing description. And here I will appeal to the Judgment of your own Friend (b) who though he hath extoll'd you in a *Pindarique-Ode*, making use of his large Poetick Licence, yet when he cometh to speak plain English, he appears severe against your Exposition. It is (said he) a *VILE OPINION* of those men, and might be punished without Tyranny, if they teach it, who hold, that the Right of Kings is set down by *Samuel* in this place ——— Some

b Mr. A.
C. in Notes
on Dav.
p. 149. Sect.
15.

deed did exercise it; but that is no more a proof of the Right, than their practice was of the lawfulness of Idolatry. When *Cambyses* had a mind to marry his Sister, he advised with the *Magi*, whether the Laws did allow it; who answered, That they knew of no Law that did allow it, but that there was a Law which allowed the Kings of *Persia* to do what they would. If this had been the case with the Kings of *Israel*, to what purpose were they enjoined so strictly the perpetual reading, perusing, and observing of the Law (*Deut. 17.*) if they had another particular Law that exempted them from being bound to it?

I might here subjoin the words of a more antient Author (*a*), who affirmeth, that *Samuel* describ'd not an humane Prince, but an insolent Tyrant, to be sent, as the scourge of God, to that head-strong people.

a Clem.
Alex.
Paedag. l. 3.
p. 229.
— 'Ου
τὸν φε-

ἀνδρωπον Κύριον, ἀλλ' ——— ἀνδάδου τύραννον ———

Mr. *Hobbes*. Name not Tyranny as a word of reproach, for the name of Tyranny (*c*) signifieth nothing more nor less, than the name of Sovereignty, be it in one, or many men; saving that they that use the former word, are understood to be angry with them they call Tyrants: and I think the toleration of a professed hatred of Tyranny, is a toleration of hatred to Common-wealth in general — So that here,

c *Lev.* p.
392.
Rev. 19.

(*f*) I must say to you, Peace, down, for you bark f *Six Ess.*
now at the Supreme Legislative Power; there- p. 62.
fore

g *Epist. ded*
before Lev.

a *Lev. p.*
105.
b *Lev. p.*
108, 109.

c *Ibid. &*
Lev. p. 90,
182.

d *Lev. p.*
128. *See p.*
169.

fore 'tis not I, but the Laws which must rate you off. And now methinks my endeavour (g) to advance the Civil Power, should not be by the Civil Power condemned; nor private men, by reprehending it, declare they think that power too great [and after what manner I endeavor the advancement of it, I think it worth the time to declare to you.] I shew (a) that the Scripture requireth absolute obedience: I teach (b) that the people have made artificial chains, called Civil Laws, which they themselves, by mutual Covenants, have fastned, at one end, to the lips of that man, or Assembly, to whom they have given the Sovereign Power; and at the other end, to their own ears: that, (c) nothing the Sovereign can do to the subject, can properly be called Injustice or injury, because every Subject is Author of every Act the Sovereign doth. That (d) the propriety of a subject excludeth not the dominion of the Sovereign, but only of another subject.

Stud. Remember Sir, the case of *Abah* and *Naboth*; unless you suppose it in times of publick necessity.

e *Lev. p.*
95.

f *Lev. p.*
137, 169.
g *Lev. p.*
143. & 26.

Mr. Hobbes. Interrupt me not: I teach also, that (e) the King is the absolute Representative, and that it is dangerous to give such a title to those men, who are sent up by the people to carry their Petitions, and give him (if he permit it) their advice. That (f) the Sovereign is sole Legislator, and not subject to civil Laws. That (g) to him there cannot be any knot in the

the Law, insoluble ; either by finding out the ends to undo it by ; or else by making what ends he will, (as *Alexander* did with his sword in the *Gordian-knot*) by the Legislative power, which no other Interpreter can do. That there is (*b*) no common Rule of good and evil, to be taken from the Nature of the objects themselves ; but from the Person of the man (where there is no Common-wealth) or , (in a Commonwealth) from the person that representeth it, or from an Arbitrator or Judge, whom men disagreeing shall by consent set up, and make his sentence the rule thereof. That (*i*) where there is no Law, there no killing or any thing else can be unjust. That (*k*) the Civil Sovereign is Judge of what Doctrines are fit to be taught. I also maintain (*l*) that Sovereigns, being in their own Dominions the sole Legislators ; those Books only are Canonical, that is, Law in every Nation, which are established for such by the Sovereign Authority.

h Lev. p. 24

i Lib. & Nec. p. 29.

k Lev. p. 91

l Lev. p. 119. c. 33.

Stud. In some things you are just to the Prerogative of Kings ; but in others, you ought to have remembred the words of our Lord, who adviseth us to give to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*, and unto God the things that are Gods. For your cavil at the name Tyrant, it is in the sense I us'd it (for exercise of unlimited power) unbecoming a Prince : but I know how very frequently it is misapply'd by those, who will call the very bridling of their licentiousness, hateful Tyranny ; and find fault with the Law, for no other reason, but because

it is a restraint upon their supposed freedom : whereas the hedges which the Law sets down, are to keep them onely in the truest and safest way. The absolute Princes of *Syracuse* were called Tyrants, though some of them deserved the title of Benefactors : and amongst ourselves, the best of Kings was branded with that ignominious Character. For that which you have justly said in favour of a Monarch, had it been Printed before Forty eight, it might have been of good effect, at least it might have shewed a disposition to promote Loyalty. But being published, after the Kings Martyrdom, and his Sons exile, it served the purposes of those people who had then the *Militia* in their hands. For you say (*a*) that the Rights of a Commonwealth by acquisition, are the same with those, by Inheritance or Succession : that the Power of the Representative (whether in one or many) cannot without consent be transferr'd, forfeited, accus'd, punish'd : and that such a person is Supreme Judge. The Parliament therefore ought to have return'd you thanks, for ascribing to them the strength of the *Leviathan*, and for keeping their *nostrils* free from the books of the right Heir and his Adherents. They ought, especially, to have given you the thanks of the House, for saying, (*b*) *I maintain nothing in any Paradox of Religion ; but attend the end of that dispute of the Sword, concerning the Authority (not yet amongst my Countreymen decided) by which all sorts of Doctrine are to be approved, or rejected ; and whose commands, both in speech and writing, (whatsoever be the opinions of pri-*

a Lev. p.
102.

b Lev. p.
241.

vate men) must by all men, that mean to be protected by their Laws, be obeyed.

But notwithstanding all this, what you seem to build up on the side of the Sovereign, you pull down on the side of the People. For whilst you found all upon single temporal Self-interest, (to the advancement of which all safe means are , by you, esteemed (e) lawful) these specious rights are no longer his . then by main force he can keep possession of them. That will not be long, if great Delinquents call'd in question, and miserable people (who , like such as stake their Cloke in an over-hot day , are willing to hazard the life they would be rid of ; and are easily misled, not looking upon the stumbling-b'locks in the way , but (d) on the light that others carry before them), if these can promote their private good , by Sword , or Poyson , or Mutiny. The people, if they believ'd your Doctrine, that a company of Delinquents (e), joyning together to defend themselves by Arms, do not at all unjustly; but may, lawfully *repel* lawful Force, by Force; they would soon be stirred up, and suffer none, for whom they have respect, to be brought to justice.

For your last particular concerning the Power of the Civil Sovereign , in relation to that for which we have asling'd

The Ninth place, that is to say, the *Canon* of Holy Scriptures; it seemeth a great indignity offered to the Sovereignty of Christ. Upon this occasion , I remember a saying of Dr. *Weston*, which would better have become a man in Buff , than a Prolocutor of the Convocation.

c Lev. 90.
De Civ. c.
1 p. 11.

d Lev. 7.
159.

e Lev. 9.
111, 112,
113. See
p. 69, 70 of
Lev. and L.
S. Natures
Dowry in
Append. to
F.D. p. 54.

aD. Heylins
Hist. of the
Reform. in
Q. M. p. 30

After six days spent in hot dispute about Religion, in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, he dismissed those of the Reformed way in these words (a): *It is not the Queens pleasure that we should spend any longer time in these debates; and ye are well enough already: for you have the Word, and we have the Sword.* So little of the obligation of Holy Writ is perceived by those whose eyes are dazzled with Secular Grandeur.

But, before we come to dispute of the power which maketh the Scripture Law, which is, as 'twere the Main-Battle; may we not a little breath and prepare our selves, in some lesser Skirmishes, touching the Writings of the Old and New Testament?

b Lev. p.
200, 201.
at large.

Mr. *Hobbes*. If you like that course, I am ready to joyn with you. First, then, I take notice (b) that divers historical books of the Old Testament, were not written by those whose names they bear; to wit, much of the *Pentateuch*, the Books of *Joshuah*, and *Judges*, and *Ruth*, and *Samuel*, and *Kings*, and *Chronicles*.

Stud. This hath been, long since said, and proved, from the places which you cite in your *Leviathan*, by the *Frenchman* who founded a Systeme of Divinity upon the conceit of men before *Adam*: who also, by Recantation, unravel'd his Cobweb, spun out of his own fancie, rather than the true Records of time. But this doth not invalidate the truth of those Histories, whose sufficient Antiquity is, by you, granted.

Mr.

Mr. Hobbes. I observe, again, concerning the Book of *Job* (a), that though it appear sufficiently that he was no feigned person, yet the Book it self seemeth not to be an History, but a Treatise concerning a question in ancient time disputed, why wicked men have often prospered in this world, and good men have been afflicted: and it is the more probable, because the whole dispute is in Verse---but Verse is no usual style of such as either are themselves in great pain, as *Job*; or of such as come to comfort them, as his Friends; but in Philosophy, especially moral Philosophy, in ancient time frequent.

a Lev. p. 202.

Stud. It is not thought that *Job* or his Friends, but *Moses*, or some other, pen'd the History in the form in which we have it. But however you here alledge a Reason, which proveth the contrary to the purpose you would have it serve for: For Poetry exciting the imagination and affections, is fittest for painting out the Scene of Tragedy. You have, surely, forgotten *Ovid de Tristibus*.

Mr. Hobbes. Please your self in replies: I will proceed to observe further, that (b) as for the Books of the Old Testament, they are derived to us, from no other time then that of *Esdra*s, who, by the direction of Gods Spirit, retri'ved them, when they were lost.

b Lev. p. 203. See Lev. p. 284.

Stud. That place in the fourth book of *Esdra*s

e 4 Efd. c.
14-21, &c.

d Dan. 9.
11, 22, 13.

e De Scrip.
Eccl'es. p. 22.

dras, wherein it is said in his person, Thy Law is burnt (c), therefore no man knoweth the things that thou hast done, is a very fable. For though the Autographa of *Moses*, and the Prophets have been thought to have perished at the burning of *Hierusalem*, yet it is not true that all the Copies were destroyed: For the Prophets, in the Captivity (d) read the Law. And concerning that whole fourth Book, it is said by *Bellarmine* himself, (e) that the Author is a Romancer. Of the like nature may they seem who talk of the men of the *Synagoga magna*, making *Ezra* to be a chief man amongst them, and ascribing to them the several divisions and sections of the Old Testament; even that, wherein the Book of *Daniel* is (most absurdly) reckon'd amongst the *Hagiographa*. Of that *Synagoga magna*, there is not one word spoken by *Iosephus*, or *St. Hierom*, though both had very fair occasions, in some parts of their writings, to have intreated of it. And the deficiency of the Jewish story, about that time, may move us to believe that this was the fiction of modern Rabbies; and *Morinus* thinks he has demonstrated that so it was.

f Lev. p.
459.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I note again, that the (f) Septuagint, who were seventy Learned men of the Jews, sent for by *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, to translate the Jewish Law, out of the Hebrew into Greek, have left us no other Books for holy Scripture in the Greek Tongue, but the same

same that are received in the Church of England.

Stud. It is not resolved whether they translated any more then the five Books of *Moses*, and whether they turn'd them out of *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, or the *Samaritan* Tongue, to which latter Pentateuch the translation of the seventy is shew'd, by *Hottinger*, to agree most exactly, in a very great number of places, by him produced in order (g): but there is as great question whether that we have, be the true Copy of the Seventy: for seeing therein the names of places (as *Kavvadosus* for *Caphsorum*) are there rendred not according to the *Hebrew*, but after the manner in which they were call'd in the latter times under the second Temple (h); the antiquity of the Copy of *Rome* may be suspected.

g See Hotting. Toes. Philolog. p.281, &c.

h See Dr. Lightfoot's Horæ Heb. in S. Marc. p. 49, 50. i Leviath. p.204.

Mr. Hobbes. Be it also observed (i) that those Books which are called *Apocrypha* were left out of the Canon, not for inconformity of Doctrine with the rest, but *only* because they are not found in the *Hebrew*.

Stud. Here, again, you erre: for by the same Reason, some part which is contained in the Canon, should have been, of old, excluded. For instance, the Book of *Daniel* is partly written in *Hebrew*, and partly writ in *Chaldee*; for *Daniel* had learnt that Tongue in *Babylon* by the command of the King. Neither are all *Apocryphal* Books to be thought not written in

Hebrew; for that excellent Book of the Son of *Syrach*, as is manifest by his Preface to it, was a translation out of the *Hebrew* Copie of his Grand-father *Jesus*. The Reason why such Books were not received by the Jews into the Canon, was not what you suggest, but because they seem'd not written by that kinde of prophesie which they called *Ruach Hakodesh* (a).

a See Voi-
sin in Pro-
am. Pug.
fid. p. 103.
b Lev. p.
199. c. 33.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I confesse (b) *St. Hierom* had seen the first of the *Maccabees* in *Hebrew*.

Stud. Neither is that rightly noted: For the Book which *St. Hierom* saw, as is thought by *Drusius*, a man profoundly learned in these matters, was the first Book of the History of the *Hasmoneæ*, whose *Epoch* was of latter date, though the names are us'd promiscuously amongst the Jews.

c Lev. p.
203, 204.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I proceed to note, that (c) the Writers of the New Testament lived all in less then an age after Christs Ascension, and had all of them seen our Saviour, or been his Disciples, except *St. Paul*, and *St. Luke*; and consequently whatsoever was written by them is as ancient as the time of the Apostles. But the time wherein the Books of the New Testament were received, and acknowledged by the Church to be of their writing, is not altogether so ancient.---- These Books of which the Copies were not many, nor could easily be all in any one private mans hand, cannot be derived from a
higher

higher time, than that wherein the Governours of the Church collected, approved, and recommended them to us, as the Writings of those Apostles and Disciples, under whose names they go. The first Enumeration of all the Books, both of the Old and New Testament, is in the Canons of the Apostles, supposed to be collected by *Clement* the first (after *St. Peter*) Bishop of *Rome*. But because that is but supposed, and by many questioned, the Council of *Laodicea* is the first we know, that recommended the Bible to the then Christian Churches, for the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles: and this Council was held in the 364 year after Christ. At which time, though ambition had so far prevailed on the great Doctors of the Church, as no more to esteem Emperours though Christian, for the Shepherds of the people, but for Sheep; and Emperours not Christian, for Wolves; and endeavour'd to pass their Doctrine, not for counsel and information, as Preachers; but for Laws, as absolute Governours; and thought such frauds as tended to make the people more obedient to Christian Doctrine, to be pious; yet I am perswaded they did not therefore falsify the Scriptures, though the Copies of the Books of the New Testament, were in the hands onely of the Ecclesiasticks; because if they had had an intention so to do, they would surely have made them more favourable to their power over Christian Princes, and civil Sovereignty, then they are.

Stud. It is plain to those who are versed in the Monuments of the Church, that the Books of the New Testament were declared Canon very early, though the precise time and place be not so easily known. Upon the Enumeration made in the Apostolick Canons, we rely not; not because that Book is to be esteemed wholly spurious; but because this Enumeration is made in the eighty fourth Canon. For the first fifty are those for whose antiquity we contend. It is true that the whole is call'd Apocryphal, by the Council (a) at Rome under Pope Gelasius: and it hath been answer'd, (b) that they were so called, not as it they were not ancient Pieces, but because they were not made *Nomocanon* or Canon-Law. But doubtless that Council rejected them as spurious Writings, numbring them amongst the late and feigned pieces of the Gospel of *St. Andrew*, the Revelation of *St. Paul*, the Books of *Og* the Gyant, of the Testament of *Job*, of the Daughters of *Adam*, and the like. But it hath also condemn'd the Works of *Tertullian*, *St. Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and the History of *Eusebius*; and therefore it is not material what writing standeth or falleth, before such erroneous Judges. Certain it is by other passages, in ancient Writers, that the New Testament was acknowledged to be Canon, long enough before the Council of *Laodicea*. The earliest Christian Writers whose Books are derived to our hands, abound in citations of the New Testament, as the undoubted Register of what was done,

a Bin. Conc.
tom. 3. pag.
663.

b Dr. Ham.
Conc. Ignat.
Ep. p. 4.

done, and taught, and as the publick Rule. Tertullian (for example) citeth very many places out of every book which now is contained in the Canon of the New Testament, if I except the second of St. Peter. And in his fourth Book against Marcion (c) he speaketh effectually to our present purpose. If that (said he) be truest which was first, and that be first which was from the beginning, and that be from the beginning which is derived from the Apostles; it is also manifest, that that was from the Apostles which is sacred in the Churches of the Apostles. Let us see then what milk St. Paul fed the Corinthians with: by what rule the Galatians were reformed; what the Philippians, Thessalonians, Ephesians read; as also what the Romans preach, to whom St. Peter and St. Paul did leave the Gospel sealed with their blood. We have also Churches instructed by St. John. For although Marcion hath rejected his Apocalypse, yet the succession of the Bishops traced to the beginning, will establish him as the certain Author of that Book. And he had taught a while before (d), that the Gospels had Apostles and Apostolike men for their undoubted Authors. And, some years before Tertullian, Irenaeus (e) wrote to the same effect. Minstermayer said he to the Hebrews, in their tongue, published the Scripture or the Gospel, when Peter and Paul did preach the Gospel at Rome, and founded a Church after their departure. Mark the Disciple and Interpreter of Peter, deliver'd to us in writing, to things which had been preached by Peter and Paul, the follower of Paul, compiled, in a book, the Gospel which

c Tert. adv.
Marc. l. 4.
p. 435.

d Tert. ib.
p. 14. B.

e Iren. l. 3.
c. 1. p. 229.

which was preached by hmi. and afterwards John (that Disciple of our Lord who leaned upon his breast) residing in Asia, in the City of Ephesus, did himself also set forth a Gospel. The Books then of the New Testament were received anciently enough, as the Writings of such whose names they bare, and as the Records of Truth. And for the Copies of them, they were so widely dispersed, that it was as hard to corrupt them all, as to poyson the Sea. They were before the Council of *Laodicea*, not onely in the hands of Ecclesiasticks, but of Christians of any profession; and of Heathens also. So it appeareth by the reflexions, invidiously made on them, by *Celsus*, and *Hierocles*, not to name *Porphyry*, who was once of the Jewish, then of the Christian Religion; and against both at last, by foul Apostacie. In the persecution of *Diocletian*, in the beginning of the fourth Century, there was an Edict for the delivering up the Copies of the Gospel: which for fear, was done by divers Christians, known by the name of *Traditores* in Church-History; and yet notwithstanding very many Copies were preserved by such good men, who valued the other state before this, and feared to be blotted out of the Book of Life, if they should so contribute to the extermination of the Books of Scripture. Historians tell us (a) that the number of the *Traditores* was very great; but that the number of such who (as the Roman Office saith) chose rather to give up themselves to the Executioners, than to deliver up holy things to Dogs, was almost infinite: and amongst these

a *Vide*
Biscol. E-
pit. annal.
Bar. p. 137.
Tradit. in-
gens num-
rus; sed
prope infini-
tus illorum,
qui mortem
petiunt, &c.

were

John were very many Virgins, particularly, *Crispina*,
Marciana, *Candida*. So apparently false it is,
that the Copies were but few, and those few on-
ly in the hands of Ecclesiasticks. But in what-
soever hands these Books were, and at whatsoe-
ver time they were first publicly acknowledg-
ed, in this (I think) we agree, (and *Julian*
himself (*b*) confes'd it, when Apostate) that
they are genuine.

b *Jul. A-*
post. Epist.
p. 195.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I see not (*c*) any reason to
doubt, but that the Old and New Testament,
as we have them now, are the true Registers
of those things, which were done and said by
the Prophets and Apostles.

c *Lev. p.*
204.

Stud. What hindereth then, that we may
not at all times, do or speak the things contain-
ed in them, after such manner as we are there
directed? And that the Scripture should not be
a perpetual Canon to every Christian; seeing
the Laws of Christ are contained in it, and the
Successors of the Apostles (who could bind
them upon the Church with sufficient right,
though not with outward force) propounded
them as necessary Rules of life? But, methinks,
'tis enough to constitute a Canon to any parti-
cular man, if he may, by any means attain un-
to a certain belief, of any Rule, as delivered
by Christ; without a superadded Decree Ec-
clesiastical or Civil.

Mr. *Hobbes*. That (*c*) the New Testament
should in this sense be Canonical, that is to say,

c *Lev. c. 42*
p. 284, 285.

*And Surely
Lawyers
understand
that there
are Laws
of God, and
Nature, as
well as, of
a Civil So-
vereign; and
that Law is
better de-
fin'd, than
by Mr.
Hobbes,
when it
is said to
be, Regula
actuum
moralium
obligans
ad id quod
rectum est.*

a Law in any place, where the Law of the Commonwealth had not made it so, is contrary to the nature of a Law. For a Law (d) is the Commandment of that Man, or Assembly, to whom we have given Sovereign Authority, to make such Rules for the direction of our Actions, as he shall think fit; and to punish us when we do any thing contrary to the same. Wherefore therefore any other man shall offer unto us any other Rules, which the Sovereign Ruler hath not prescribed, they are but Counsel, and Advice; which, whether good or bad, he that is counselled, may without injustice refuse to observe; and when contrary to the Laws already established, without injustice cannot observe, how good soever he conceiveth it to be. I say, he cannot in this case observe the same in his actions; nor in his discourse with other men, though he may without blame believe his private Teachers, and wish he had the liberty to practise their advice; and that it were publicly received for Law.

Stud. Then, it seems it is good Doctrine, (which I always judg'd most horrid Blasphemy,) That Almighty God, (who, giving us our being, may oblige us, without our consent) can make no Laws, before the people choose a Governour; nor any afterwards, unless they be agreeable to those enacted by the Civil Power, then before the days of *Constantine*, a private man was obliged to be, a Jew, or a Gentile, according to the Civil Authority under which

he was ; and that Christianity did not oblige the conversation of any man.

Mr. Hobbes. Christ (*d*) hath not subjected us to other Laws than those of the Commonwealth ; that is, the Jews to the Law of *Moses*, (which he saith (*Mat. 5.*) he came not to destroy, but to fulfil) and other Nations to the Laws of their several Sovereigns. d Lev. p. 285.

Stud. That Christ subjected the Jews to the Law of *Moses*, considered as such, is a saying which relisheth both of ignorance and irreligion. It is evident that the very Law of the Ten Commandments, obligeth not any Christian man, (though he be supposed to live under a Jewish Sovereign) as delivered by *Moses*, but as the design of them agreeth with the Law of Nature, and of Christ, who advanced both Laws, and filled them up, adding as 'twere his last hand to an imperfect Draught. And for the Ceremonial Law, our Saviour came to put an end to it, because it was but an estate of expectation, and consisted in shadows of good things to come: & if he had established that as an enduring Law, he had, in effect, denied himself to be the true Messiah. For the sprinkling of the Altar with the blood of Bulls and Goats, after the antient manner of the Jews, importeth manifestly that the effectual Oblation is not yet offered: wherefore St. Paul, as he speaketh his *Galatians* after this manner : Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage. a Gal. 5. 1, 2.

Be-

Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. Moses himself foretold that our Saviour should arise after him, and become a Prophet to be obeyed

b Deut. 18
15, 18.

comp. with

Act. 3. 22.

&c.

c Jul. Cæs.

Vanin. Di-

alog. p. 359.

in whatsoever he taught the people (b): where-
for *Cæsar Vanin* (c), who suffered as an Atheist,
said, in his Dialogues, that *Moses* was not so po-
litick as the *Messiah*, in delivering his Laws;
because he foretold the abrogation of them,
whilst *Christ* propounded his as everlasting.

Then for *Christs* subjecting the Gentiles to
the Law of their Civil Sovereign, of what per-
suasion soever, it is contrary to the great de-
sign of our Saviours coming: for amongst the
Heathen, the worship of false Gods was the
Law of their Country. It was one of the Laws
of the twelve Tables (d), that no man should
have a personal Religion, but worship such
Gods, and in such manner, as the Law of his
Country did prescribe. And *Cicero* shews how,
in his days, it was not lawful to worship any
sort of Gods, lest a confusion should be brought
into Religion. Hence *Augustus*, travelling in
Ægypt, would not step out of his way, to visit
Apis, and *Cain* his Nephew, passing through
Judea, would not worship at *Jerusalem*. Hence
Socrates and *Protagoras*, maintaining opinions
disagreeing with the Religion of their Coun-
treys, were condemned; and *Anacharsis*, also,
suffered in *Scythia* for celebrating the Feast of
Bacchus, by the forein Ceremonies of *Greece*.
Hence *Christ* was not registred in the *Calendar*
of the Gods, though *Tiberius* understanding
his Divinity from *Pontius Pilate*, gave his suf-
frage

d Nemo se-
paratim
Deos ha-
bescit.

frage for it ; because it pleased not the Senate ; and because (saith *Tertullian*) it was an old Decree of *Rome* , that no man should be consecrated for a Deity by the Emperor, without their Approbation. If then all persons were to be outwardly obedient to the Civil Powers, they were to worship false Deities ; Idolatry being then established by a Law : but on the contrary, it is evident, that one main end of our Saviours coming was to destroy the works of the Devil, and to bring the Gentiles from the worship of *Demons*, to the service of the true God. Idolaters, therefore, are reckon'd amongst those who shall not inherit the Kingdom of Christ : and *St. Paul* wrote so much particularly to (*d*) the *Corinthians* , and *Ephesians*, of those days, when the Powers were Heathen ; and not meerly to such as should read his Epistles in and after the Reign of *Constantine* : and preaching at *Athens* against the Altar, *To the unknown God* (set up, no doubt, by publike Authority) and declaiming against the honour paid to false Gods ; he let sthem understand, that the times of the ignorance of the Gentiles (*e*) God winked at , but now he commandeth all men every where to repent ; because he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained ; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men , in that he hath raised him from the dead.

d1 Cor. 6. 9
Ephes. 5. 5.
1 Cor. 10.

7.

e Acts 17
30, 31.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Such discourses are Counsels, and not Laws. Our Saviour (*a*) and his Apo-
O
aLeviath.
files p. 285.

files left no new Laws to oblige us in this world, but new Doctrine to prepare us for the next; the Books of the New Testament which contain that Doctrine, until obedience to them was commanded, by them that God had given power to on earth to be Legislators, were not obligatory Canons, that is, Laws, but only good, and safe advice, for the direction of sinners in the way to salvation, which every man might take, and refuse at his peril, without injustice.

Stud. The Doctrines of Christ avail not, at all, towards an entrance into his Kingdom, without obedience (*b*) to his Laws: and besides, those of meer Nature, he hath left new Laws unto the world: such are those of forgiving enemies, and against private Revenge: those, concerning Baptism, and his Holy Supper: concerning Divorce and Polygamy: concerning a professing of faith in him as the Messiah: concerning an Inward Religion, (*c*) which the Governors of the world cannot take cognizance of; and which *Trypho* the Jew, with many others, hath denied to have been given by *Moses*, whose Laws they suppose to have extended not to the thought, but the conversation. That which concerns Polygamy hath (*I know*) been doubted; yet (as it seemeth to me) without Reason: for when our Saviour said (*d*) that he who putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth Adultery; he plainly forbad plurality of Wives at the same time; which if it had been allowed, the man might have taken more than ano-

b Heb. 5. 5.

c See Iren.
1. 4. c. 31. p.
353.

d S Luke
16. 18.

another to him, without sin. Here then the Law of perfection hath bound us, where Nature seemeth to have left us at liberty. Now seeing these Institutions are the will of Christ, and that Christ hath made sufficient promulgation of them to millions of men, and that he is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and that he hath annexed to them the greatest rewards and punishments to secure them from violation; it is evident that these are sufficient Laws, both without, and against, the Civil Sanction. For to say that the Princes of the Earth are Superior to Christ, is a Blasphemy of such altitude, that the ninetyeth degree being cut, we can scarce take the height of it. What maketh a Superiour Law, but a Superiour power, declaring his Will in some particular instances, to be obey'd? The Prohibition of the Tree of Life was the firmest Law to *Adam*, though no humane Law was then enacted; nay, although *Adam* was King of the Earth.

But, if the Christian Faith was not a Law for more than three hundred years, to what end is it (*d*), that the Apostles, and other Pastors of the Church, after their time should meet together, to decree upon what Doctrine should be taught, both for faith and manners, if no man were obliged to observe their Decrees? d See Lett p. 286.

Mr. *Hobbes*. To this (*e*) may be answered, e ibid. that the Apostles and Elders of that Council, were obliged even by their entrance into it, to teach the Doctrine therein concluded, and decreed to be taught, so far forth, as no precedent

Law, to which they were obliged to yeild obedience, was to the contrary ; but not that all other Christians should be obliged to observe what they taught : for though they might deliberate what each of them should teach ; yet they could not deliberate what others should do, unless their Assembly had had a Legislative power ; which none could have but Civil Sovereigns.

Stud. That is, the Gospel preached by them was no Law then, because it did not cut its way by the Temporal Sword, and had no outward power to give it countenance, and urge its entertainment. Is that your meaning ?

a Lev. p.
285.

Mr. Hobbes. You conjecture aright : for (a) in Christs Commission to his Apostles and Disciples — there is nothing of power but perswasion. — They had not in Commission to make Laws; but to obey and teach obedience to Laws made, and consequently they could not make their writings obligatory Canons, without the help of the Sovereign Civil Power.

b See in
the end of
that page,
and p. 286.

Stud. That (b) which may seem to give the New Testament, in respect of those that have embraced Christian Doctrine, the force of Laws in the times and places of persecution, is the Decrees they made amongst themselves in their Synods. For we read (*Acts 15. 28.*) the style of the Council of the Apostles, the Elders, and the whole Church, in this manner : *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and unto us, to lay upon you*

you no greater burthen than these necessary things, &c. which is a style that signifieth a power to lay a burthen on them that had received their Doctrine. Now to lay a burthen on another, seemeth the same that to oblige; and therefore the Acts of that Council were Laws to the then Christians.

Mr. Hobbes. They were no more Laws than are those other Precepts, *Repent; be Baptized; keep the Commandments; believe the Gospel; come unto me; sell all that thou hast, give it to the poor; and, follow me:* which are not Commands, but Invitations, and callings of men to Christianity, like that of *Esay 55. 1. Ho, every man that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.*

Stud. It seemeth strange that such Counsels should not therefore be Laws, (though some of them are given imperatively enough) because men are gently wooed and invited, and not by outward force compelled to an outside obedience. Our subordination to Christ obligeth us to the performance of his revealed will, which is, for that reason, Law. And because he chooseth to rule us, rather with a Scepter of Righteousness, than an iron Rod, we are, by that, the more obliged, and not at liberty from obedience. You ought, therefore, to have said, not that the Doctrines of our Saviour were not Laws, but that the Civil Sovereign may lay a further obligation upon his Christian Subjects, (as those that make a vow of Chastity, do, upon themselves) by making them become his Laws.

Thus many Articles of the Christian Faith are inserted into the first Law of the *Codex Theodosianus*; not having thereby, first obtained, but doubled their obligation. But this string of error runneth through the whole body of your *Leviathan*, that, without apparent force, there is no law. And this is the chief ground of your irreverent and false Doctrine, against the Power of the Christian Church. Because it is a visible Society professing the Doctrine of the Cross, and hath not of it self external co-active Power, but, by virtue of the Commission of Christ as King, layeth spiritual obligation upon men, (and thereby is consistent with the Civil Empire, in which it is,) therefore you deny unto the Church the right either of making or declaring Laws (c) as if there were not onely a quibble but a truth, in the meaning of the Frontispiece of your *Leviathan*, which compares the Canons of the Convocation, to those of the temporal Militia; and that they could not properly have that name; unless they had Powder, and Bullet, and Fire, (external force) attending on them. It is plain enough (and you your self do own it) that after the Ascension (d) of our Lord, the Power Ecclesiastical, was in the Apostles; and after them, in such as were by them ordained to preach the Gospel, and to convert men to Christianity, and to direct them that were converted in the way of Salvation; and after these, the Power was delivered again to others by these ordained. But how this Spiritual Power, in the Administration of Spiritual Affairs

c Lev. p.
171.

d Lev. p.
267.

fairs in Christ's Kingdom; in ordaining Successors; in celebrating the Eucharist; in admitting members into this Spiritual but visible Society by Baptism, and in excommunicating the unworthy, (which is a proof both of the Society and its power) how all this (I say) was derived on the person of *Constantine*, who was neither Ordained, nor (as some tell us) baptized till his death; requireth greater skill to explain, then I dare yet pretend to: he therefore rather gave outward aids and succors, then true authority and right to the Doctrines and Commandments of his Sovereign Jesus. Which things being well consider'd, you ought not to have ascrib'd (as somewhere you have done) the very rights of the Priestly Function to the civil Powers. *Grotius*, who has not had thanks, from all, for his liberality to the civil Magistrate in relation to the affairs of the Church, hath yet made it his whole designe (in the second Chapter of his Book *De Imperio summarum potestatum circa Sacra*) to make it manifest, that Authority about Holy Things, and the Sacred Function, are distinct. In the same person they may be (as in *Anius* the King and Priest of *Phœbus*) but not without Ordination. For the Power depending upon our Lords Commission, is not convey'd but by Succession, through the hands of the Commissioned. Our thirty seventh Article, doth attribute to the King a Power of outward Rule in Ecclesiastical matters, "yet granteth
"not to him either the ministring of Gods
"Word, or of the Sacraments. And under the

2 Chron.
26.18, 19,
&c.

Law, it was said unto *Uzziah* the King (a) It pertaineth not unto thee *Uzziah* to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests, the Sons of *Aaron*, that are consecrated to burn incense. And because he would use his force in usurping the rights of the Priest, God Almighty smote him with immediate Leprosie; and taught him to discern betwixt might and right. Yet the Kings of *Judah* had power in the Synagogue. They had *lo de facto*; neither in many things, wherein they ordered Religion, were they reprov'd. Yet to say the truth, the having such right is no where commanded in the Old Law; which enjoyn'd not the people to have a King; but, upon conditions, permitted one to them, if they should prefer the customs of the Heathen-Nations, before the most excellent estate of *Theocracie*. Wherefore let them see whether they build closely, who establish the Ecclesiastical Power of Christian Princes, upon the exercise of it amongst the Kings of *Judah*. It concerneth you also to consider whether you have not unduly ascrib'd unto the Prince, as such, the Power of the Keys, and the Right of Ordination, and Ministration of the Sacraments, and Word of Christ. *The Monarch*

b Lev. 10. (say you) or (b) the Sovereign Assembly onely bath immediate Authority from God, to teach and instruct the people; and no man but the Sovereign receiveth his Power *Dei Gratia* simply. — He it

c Lev. p. 125. is that bath (c) authority not onely to preach (which perhaps no man will deny;) but also to baptize, and to administer the Sacrament of the Lords Supper; and to consecrate both Temples and

and Pastors to Gods service. — If the Sovereign Power (d) give me command (though without the ceremony of imposition of hands) to teach the Do-
ctrine of my Leviathan in the Pulpit, why am not I, if my Doctrine and life be as good as yours, a Minister as well as you? This is saying and not proving; and because the power was from Christ derived to the Apostles, and from them in Succession, by Ordination; and can be in none to whom it is not convey'd in such a Channel; in what you have said, had you been versed in the several Writings of a Divine of the Church of *England* (a man of greater and better Learning then either your self or Mr. *Selden*, whose Doctrine you seem to have swallow'd down together with the good provisions of his Table; and who is said to have mistaken the very state of the *Erastian* Controversie (a) whilst he defined Excommunication to be a Censure inferring a civil penalty) you would have either altered your opinion, or aggravated your error.

a See Just weights & meaſ. p. 25.

It appeareth, by what hath been deliver'd, that there is Authority enough, without the civil Sanction, to make the Doctrines of the Apostles to become Laws, to wit, the Kingly Power of Christ, whose Commissioners they were; and who had power to cause their rights to descend to others by Ordination. And before the days of *Constantine*, there wanted not the Fountain of outward force, not onely in our Lord, who could dash in pieces Sovereigns of the finest mold; but also in his Members, who (as is manifest from Ecclesiastical story) had often

ten strength enough to have check'd the fury of their persecutors, and to have forc'd the yoke of Christ upon their necks. But it seemed good to our blessed Lord, during this state of mans probation; to deal chiefly with him, according to his reasonable nature, and to invite rather than compel. And yet, methinks, the threatnings of eternal vengeance seem to carry more force with them, then all the prisons in the world. And it is time to think that the Gospel obligeth, when we hazard perpetual misery by disobeying it, whether we be Jews or Greeks, if its sound hath reached us.

a Lev. p.
286.

Mr. Hobbes. The Jews and Gentiles were to be damned, not for their infidelity, but (a) their old sins. If the Apostles Acts of Council were Laws, they could not without sin be disobeyed. But we read not any where that they who receiv'd not the Doctrine of Christ, did therein sin; but that they dyed in their sins; that is, that the sins against the Laws to which they owed obedience, were not pardoned. And those Laws were the Laws of Nature, and the civil Laws of the State, whereto every Christian man had by pact submitted himself. And therefore by the burthen, which the Apostles might lay on such as they had converted, are not to be understood Laws, but Conditions, proposed to those that sought Salvation; which they might accept or refuse at their own peril, without a new sin, though not without the hazard of being condemned and excluded out of the Kingdom of God, for their

sins

ns past. And therefore of Infidels St. *John* saith *John 3.36.*
 ot, the wrath of God shall come upon them, *John 3.18.*
 at the wrath of God remaineth upon them;
 and not that they shall be condemned, but that
 they are condemned already.

Stud. What will not a man say rather then
 acknowledge himself in an error, though the
 thing it self speaketh it? Here's mistake clap'd
 upon mistake: yet the scales of the *Leviathan*
 are not so close, but a blinde Archer may shoot
 between them. Have you not read what our
 Lord said to his disciples, after his resurrection?
Go ye into all the world (b), and preach the Gospel *b S. Marc.*
to every creature. He that believeth and is bapti- *16. 15, 16.*
zed shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall
be damned. The Author, also, to the *Hebrews*
 exhorteth the Jews to believe in Christ; and
 telleth them they shall, for ever, be excluded
 the Kingdom of heaven for their unbelief, (if
 they persevere in it) as their Fore-fathers came
 short of *Canaan* for the same reason. And al-
 though St. *John*, in the places cited, doth speak in
 the present tense, yet in others of the same Chap-
 ter, he speaketh in the future: and in that very
 verse which you cite partially, concealing the
 words which are against you, he maketh their
 unbelief the cause of that severe decree which, al-
 ready, was gone forth. V. 18. *He that believeth on*
him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is
condemned already, because he hath not believed
in the name of the only begotten Son of God. V. 19.
This is the condemnation, that light is come into
the world, and men loved darkness rather then
light,

light, because their deeds were evil. V. 36. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.

Mr. Hobbes. There is, yet, behinde, a reason whereby I prove that the doctrine of the Gospel is not made Law, by Christ or his Apostles. The Apostles power (a) was no other than that of our Saviour, to invite men to embrace the Kingdom of God; which they themselves acknowledged for a Kingdom (not present, but) to come, and they that have no Kingdom, can make no Laws.

Stud. Christ, as Mediator, before his Resurrection, had power of making stronger Law than any Sovereigns now upon earth, for he had immediate Commission from God in Heaven.

John 12. 45, 48, 50. He that saw Christ saw him that sent him: and whatsoever Christ spake, even as the Father said unto him, so he spake. And he that rejected him was to be condemned by his words at the last day. And Christ when his Father sent him, was design'd to be a King over Men and Angels, and for that purpose he came into the world: and he acquired this Kingship by way of conquest in his resurrection from the dead: after which he spake

Matt. 28. 18. (c) unto his Disciples, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and loe, I am with you al-

ays unto the end of the world. And when he
scended and sat on the right hand of God, he
was inaugurated into his Heavenly Kingdom,
and became in truth a Divine Heroe, as those d 1 Pet. 3.
amongst the Heathens were in pretence; and he 22.
at present reigneth, be the earth never so re-
bellious, in the Oeconomy of his Church.

But to step, out of this, into our

Tenth Place of Discourse: if the commands of
Christ and his Apostles, are not, also, Laws,
without the civil Sanction; what meaneth the
common Doctrine, in the Scripture, of suffering
for the sake of Christianity? we are enjoined
to take up the Cross, and to follow Christ:
blessedness is promised to those who are per-
secuted for righteousness sake; that suffer as
Christians: and we are taught, that the way to
preserve our lives, is to loose them, for a time, in
the glorious cause of Jesus. Such commands
and exhortations to dye rather than to obey un-
christian injunctions, are delivered in vain; yea
they deserve the name of impious, if they be
not a royal Law, without the stamp and al-
lowance of civil Authority. It is then, in your
opinion, not onely our priviledge but our duty,
to save the skin entire; and, for the sake of out-
ward safety, to obey that which is truly Law,
the Law of our Country, though we live a-
mongst the Heathens; rather than to follow dan-
gerous, though Evangelical, counsel.

Mr. Hobbes. You may easily make con-
jecture of my sense, in the present case; be-
cause I say the disobedient to the civil Powers
do

e Lev. p.
271.

do violate that which is properly Law. We are not obliged (e) to obey any Minister of Christ if he should command us to do any thing contrary to the command of the King, or other Sovereign representant of the Common-wealth whereof we are Members, and by whom we look to be protected.

Stud. Were this truth, there ought not to have been any zealous propagation of the Gospel; but it should have expired, with the Author of it upon the Cross. For the Apostles sinned both against the Law of Nature, and Common-wealth, in exposing their lives to hazard by preaching to the Gentiles; if it was injustice to gain-say their Pagan Edicts. St. Thomas, then, though armed with Miracles to command assent, ought, either not to have wandered to the *East-Indies*; or being there, not to have preached up a new Religion: and what he suffered, for that cause, was just, from the hand of Pagan Authority.

a Lev. c.
27 p. 152.

Mr. Hobbes. Into what place (a) soever a man shall come, if he do any thing contrary to the Law, it is a crime. If a man come from the *Indies* hither, and perswade men here to receive a new Religion, or teach them any thing that tendeth to disobedience of the Laws of his Country, though he be never so well perswaded of the truth of what he teacheth, he commits a crime, and may be justly punished for the same, not only because his Doctrine is false, but also because he does that which he would not ap-

approve in another, namely, that coming from hence, he should endeavour to alter the Religion there.

Stud. A good man would be desirous of information, in matters of the greatest moment, from what quarter soever of the Heavens, the light shined into his understanding : and the Question is only of the assurance which the Teacher can give, and not of the equity of his Practice, if he can prove to others that he is divinely inspir'd. But to pass by that enquiry, I cannot refrain from asking you (though I can guess at your opinion) whether every Traveller is bound to profess the Religion of that Country into which he goeth ? I mean not this of meer prudence and caution, of an open countenance and close breast ; but of actual compliance with all forein institutions ; so as to do as men do at *Rome*, or *Constantinople*, or *Agra*, if we were sojourners there.

M. Hobbes. To this I shall, by and by, say something particularly ; but I will now, in general terms, affirm, that whosoever (b) entereth into anothers Dominion, is subject to all the Laws thereof ; unless he have a priviledge by the Amity of the Sovereigns, or by special License. b Lev. p. 114.

Stud. Seeing then the Romanists depend much upon *Opus operatum* ; if you returned but to *Paris* and practis'd your own Doctrine, the prayer of Monsieur *Sorbiere* (c) would be heard, c Sorb. Voyage. 99.
who,

who, (in his Voyage, when he weeded *Eng-land*) desired you might become a Roman Catholick. This digression puts me in mind of a saying of B. *Andrews*, who, when it was told, that some of the Scotch-Clergy, were to be made Bishops; advised, that they should be made Priests first.

But, what great motive is there to this compliance with the civil Power, of any persuasion?

Mr. *Hobbes*. That I hinted just now, in saying, that by them we look to be protected (a).
 a Lev. p.
 271.

Stud. As if the favour of our Lord, the Prince of Glory, towards his sincere, and faithful, patient, and undaunted subjects (who will not be basted out of truth, nor be ashamed of the Gospel) were not of more value than the thin shelter of worldly-Power, which, if it could hide us under Rocks and Mountains, could not secure us from the stroke of him, who is, in the first place, to be feared: methinks, in the competition betwixt danger from men, and disobedience to Christ, (as in the case of such as are commanded by Heathen powers to sacrifice to *Demon*) it is easie to see on which hand we ought to turn: when there is before us, a Natural and a Moral evil, the Natural being the least, is therefore to be chosen: thus *Socrates* was obliged to prefer Death, before the acknowledgment of *Polytheism*; and by such choice, we, in truth, preserve our selves, and most effectually obey that dictate of Nature: for we
 part

part with a short and unpleasant, for an happy and endless life; and our health is eternally secured to us, by the effusion of the blood of Martyrdom: and, indeed, it hath been the sence of almost all mankind, derived from the fear of a God, or the excellent Nature of Virtue; that the honest good is to be preferr'd before either the profitable, or the pleasant; and that in such cases, the powers on Earth are not to be obeyed, though upon the refusal of their pleasure, they will glut their malice with the blood of men.

The three Children, menaced with the Furnace, chose rather to suffer the wrath of *Nebuchadnezzar*, than to do his will, in worshipping the Golden Image; and God Almighty declar'd his acceptance of such a refusal, whilst, by Miracle, he delivered them. And the fact of those Parents who saved *Moses*, not being afraid (a) of the commandment of *Pharaoh*, who design'd all the Males of *Israel* for slaughter, is deliver'd down unto posterity, with honour and applause, by the Author to the *Hebrews*: and in that little Book of Martyrs, we read (b) of some, who scorn'd to accept of a temporal deliverance, when it was offer'd to them, upon the unworthy terms of Apostacie or recantation; they having in their eye, a greater reward. And it is recorded, rather to the same than reproach of the *Eastern Magi*, (c) that in returning to their Countrey, they passed by, *Herod*, who had, with evil intent, commanded them to bring him word concerning the birth of the King of the Jews. If a Prince

a Heb. 11.

23.

b V. 35.

c S. Mat. 2.

8, &c.

d Tatian.
p. 144.

(said (d) *Tatianus*) commands me to deny my God, I will rather die at his foot, than live to exercise his pleasure: and the holy Bishop *Felix Africanus* and his Associates (men of great Integrity and constancie of mind) would rather give up their own lives, than the Copies of the New Testament, which *Dioclesian* intended so to destroy, that it might not be found at all in the Annals of the World, that ever there was such a Doctrine as Christianity. The very *Grecians*, whose manner was to use prostration only in the Rites of their Religion, refused, what peril soever was imminent, to worship, in that fashion, the King of *Persia*: and the Christians who sometimes payed a civil respect before the Images of the Emperors, chose rather to expose themselves to the cruelty of their Enemies, than to humble themselves, as in former days, when *Julian* added to them, the Images of false Gods: and such refusals are not destructive of Government and Society, because the true Christian, doth not, in these cases, fill the World with clamours, or endeavor to raise tumults, but is led in imitation of his Saviour, like an innocent and meek Lamb, unto the slaughter (e).

e Orig. con.

Cels. l. 3.

Οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ λαμβάνομεν ἐπ' ἰδωθ' ἡμεῖς, ἢ δὲ μανθάνομεν
ἵτις πωλεῖται νόμοις διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν υἱοῦ τῆς αἰρήνης.

f Lev. c.

45. p. 362.

Mr. *Hobbes*. For an (f) unlearned man, that is in the power of an idolatrous King or State, if commanded on pain of death to worship before an Idol, he detesteth the Idol in his heart,
he

he doth well ; though if he had the fortitude to suffer death rather than to worship it , he should do better.

Stnd. The most obscure and illiterate person, doing outward worship to false Gods, though he sinneth not with such scandal as the wise and the renowned , who are apt to draw a multitude into the like snare , yet he is not to be acquitted as an innocent man. For, by such means , the Idolators who affright this man out of his Religion , do triumph over the Honour of the true God, the procuring whose dishonour is against Reason, which teacheth man , apart , to adore his Sovereign Lord , and in Society , to be publike in his adoration , and not to conceal it under the Vi-
 zour of an ill-instructed Pagan, who serveth Devils. *Reason* (you (a) know) directeth, not only a Lev. p. i
192. to worship God in secret ; but also , and especially in publick, and in the sight of men : for without that , (that which in honour is most acceptable) the procuring others to honour him, is lost.

But to come to somewhat peculiar in Christianity ; what if (b) a King or a Senate, or other Sovereign Person , forbid us to believe in b Lev. c. 42
p. 271. Christ ?

Mr. Hubbes. To this (c) I answer , that c Ibid. such forbidding is of no effect ; because belief and unbelief never follow mens commands. Faith is a gift of God, which man can neither
 P 2 give,

give, nor take away, by promise of rewards, or menaces of torture.

d *ibid.*

Stud. But (d) what if we be commanded by our lawful Prince, to say with our tongue, we believe not; must we obey such command?

e *ibid.*

Mr. Hobbes. Profession (e) with the tongue is but an external thing, and no more than any other gesture whereby we signifie our obedience, and wherein a Christian who holdeth firmly in his heart the faith of Christ, hath the same Liberty which the Prophet *Elisha* allowed to *Naaman* the *Syrian*. — *Naaman* believed in his heart; but by bowing before the Idol *Rimmon*, he denied the true God in effect, as much as if he had done it with his lips.

2 Kings 5.
17.

Stud. In both these answers you mis-understand the Faith of the Gospel, which is not compleat, unless the outward profession answereth to the inward act of assent: for the Church is a visible Society professing the Christian faith; which men entred into by a visible sign; in which are Officers of divers Ranks; in which there is a communion of visible Symbols; and he that chooseth only to have faith in his heart, renounceth his title of Member, in this spiritual Society: our Saviour commanded his Disciples, that their light should shine before men. And St. *John* (f) upbraideth many of the chief Rulers, who, believed on Christ, but, because of the *Pharisees*, did not confess him, lest they

f John 12.
42, 43.

they should be put out of the Synagogue: because they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God. Hear also what St. Paul saith unto the *Romans*: (g) If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the heart man believeth unto Righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto Salvation. For Naaman, who was a Gentile, amongst Gentiles, he had promised to sacrifice for the future, to none but the God of *Israel*; and his incurvation was his civil Office towards the King, for which notwithstanding, he begg'd especial License. If this be not an answer, I refer you to *Episcopus* (h) who will not send you away unsatisfied.

g Rem. 10
9, 10.

h Episcop.
Resp. ad
62 Quest.
p. 59, 60.
i Lev. p.
271.

But what can you (i) answer to our Saviours saying, *Whosoever denyeth me before men, I will deny him before my Father which is in Heaven?*

Mr. Hobbes. This (k) we may say, that whatsoever a Subject, as Naaman was, is compelled to in obedience to his Sovereign, and doth it not in order to his own minde, but in order to the Laws of his Countrey, that action is not his, but his Sovereigns; nor is it he that, in this case, denieth Christ before men, but his Governour, and the Law of his Countrey.

k Ibid.

Stud. Here, first, you deny that to be a mans own act, which was in his power to have refused : for the Magistrate cannot force the mouth to confession, or denial. wherefore, in this case, both persons offend ; the Magistrate, by being a terrour to a Christian Professor ; and the subject, by his cowardly obsequiousness to man, in a matter forbidden by his God. Further, instead of shewing the consistencie of your Doctrine with our Saviour's words, you tacitely accuse them, either of impertinencie, or ill advice : For you make him to speak to this effect : Persecutions will arise (a), but be willing to be treated like your Master, a man of sufferings, and acquainted with grief : and fear not the faces (b), and menaces of men ; but publish, in the openest manner, unto the world (c), such Doctrines as you hear in private, whilst you sit at my feet. And do not to fear (d) those who persecute you, as to save your bodily life by the renouncing or suppressing of my Doctrine, but stand in awe of me, whom if ye disobey, ye forfeit life eternal. And (e) remember that there is a God (e), who, in such perilous times, will take care of you. If, therefore, you will own and publish my Faith, (f) I will own you as my loyal Subjects, and make you happy in my Kingdom : if you will renounce my faith for fear of men, I will not take notice of you, as appertaining to me, when you shall stand in the greatest need of protection. But, though I have said all this, yet upon second thoughts it seemeth reasonable that I excuse

§ 5A. Matt.
10.23,24,
25.

b Vers.20.

c Vers.27.

d Vers.28.

e Verses 29,
30,31.

f Verses 32,
33.

cuse you, and condemn such bloody Powers, as shall, by persecution, compel you to blaspheme : 'Tis they who force open your mouths, and move your tongues, and form your breath, and renounce me ; but you are all the time very sound Believers ; Believers in your hearts. And therefore, if you deny me before such powers, I will transfer the blame on them. So wretched is your Paraphrase , that it overthroweth the plainest and often-repeated letter of the Text. But supposing that our Saviour had not delivered himself thus expressly against your Doctrine ; how would you have reconcil'd your gross dissimulation with that sincerity which the Searcher of the hearts requireth ?

Mr. *Hobbes*. If any man (g) shall accuse this *g Lev. p.*
 Doctrine, as repugnant to true, and unfeigned *271, 272.*
 Christianity ; I ask him, in case there should be a subject in any Christian Commonwealth, that should be inwardly in his heart of the Mahometan Religion , whether if his Sovereign command him to be present at the Divine-service of the Christian Church , and that on pain of death, he think that Mahometan obliged in conscience to suffer death for that Cause, rather then to obey that command of his lawful Prince. If he say, he ought rather to suffer death, then he authorizeth all private men, to disobey their Princes, in maintainance of their Religion, true or false : If he say, he ought to be obedient, then he alloweth to himself, that which he denyeth to another.

Stud. In this reply, which toucheth not the proposed difficulty, you run out into two absurd suppositions. First, that a Christian Magistrate sheddeth the blood of an Heathen for not frequenting the Christian Assemblies: next, that there is a parity of reason in the persecution of a Christian, and of a Mahometan; and that the *Alcoran* may as much oblige the conscience, as the Testament of our Lord.

a Lev. p.
272.

But I must again ask you, what you (a) will say of all those Martyrs we read of in the History of the Church? I hope you will not say that they have needlessly cast away their lives. Their blood hath been more truly the seed of the Christian Church, than the opinion of Ghosts, Ignorance of second causes, Devotion towards what men fear, and taking of things casual for Prognosticks, have ever been (as you affirm [b]) the seeds of natural Religion, which is generated out of the inquisitive temper of men, who, by serving any excellent effect, are naturally led to search out the cause, and so proceed to the first Original. The Martyrs (I say) did, under Christ, preserve the Christian Faith, which if it had not been professed with the mouth, would have dy'd away, as a spark where no breath doth cherish it. Their memory is precious in the Church of God, and their names will be had in everlasting remembrance. They have been thought (c) to have the priviledge of rising first, and, in that sense, to have a part in the first Resurrection. The Christians anciently kept their Assemblies

b Lev. c. 12.
p. 54.

b See Mr.
Mede's
works, p.
544.

at their Monuments : and the Church of *Alexandria* (*c*) beginneth its account, at the *Æra* of holy Martyrs. And yet you seem to disrespect them as imprudent Zealots, and to think their blood was but so much water spilt upon the ground, a rash and useless effusion.

c See Scal.
de Em.
Temp.
Proleg. p.
18.

Mr. *Hobbes*. For answer hereunto (*d*), we are to distinguish the persons that have been for that Cause put to death; whereof some have received a calling to preach, and profess the Kingdom of Christ openly; others have had no such calling, nor more has been required of them than their own Faith. The former sort, if they have been put to death, for bearing witness to this point, that Jesus Christ is risen from the dead, were true Martyrs; for a Martyr is, (to give the true definition of the word) a witness of the Resurrection of Jesus the *Messiah*, which none can be but those that conversed with him on earth, and saw him after he was risen: for a witness must have seen what he testifieth, or else his testimony is not good. And this is manifest from *Acts* 1. 21, 22. of these men which have companied with us—must one be a Martyr (that is, a Witness) with us of his Resurrection. Where we may observe that he which is to be a witness of the Truth of the Resurrection of Christ—must be—one of his Original Disciples: whereas they which were not so, can witness no more, but that their Antecessors said it, and are therefore but witnesses of other mens Testimonie; and are but

d Lev. p.
272.

but second Martyrs, or Martyrs of Christs witness.

Stud. By this answer, wherein you approve of the Martyrdom of the Apostles, you grant unto me what I contend for, and contradict your former Doctrine. For if the Apostles, drawing temporal deaths upon themselves, by preaching the Gospel, when they were enjoyned to desist, by the civil Powers, are to be justified by us, and honour'd, for such resistance unto blood; then there was given to them a Superiour Law by Christ, by the vertue of which higher obligation they were free from active duty to the civil Powers: otherwise, if without a Law, they had opposed the present Governours, they had been pernicious Rebels, and not honourable Defenders of the Faith. What you add concerning the word Martyr, is a weak nicety of Grammar, upon which the stress of this Cause doth not depend. For the Question is not, whether no man be properly call'd a witness but an eye-witness, or he who beareth testimony of report received at second or third hand; but whether, at any distance of time, a man may not have sufficient ground to believe the Gospel, and to believe himself, indispensably obliged by it; and whether, after the hearty belief of it, he may with his mouth renounce it, out of a tender regard to flesh and blood.

To proceed in this Argument; there is yet remaining another objection, to which, I know not what answer can be, by you, returned. It

is the Argument used by St. Peter and St. John, to the Rulers of the people and Elders of Israel, when, by menaces, they urg'd them to desist from the propagation of the holy Gospel: *Whether it be right* (said those Apostles) *in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more then unto God, judge ye (a)*

a Acts 4.
19.

Mr. Hobbes. If the command (b) of the civil Sovereign be such, as that it may be obeyed, without the forfeiture of life eternal; not to obey it is unjust — but if it be such as cannot be obeyed, without being damned to eternal death, then it were madness to obey it. — All men, therefore, that would avoid, both the punishments that are to be in this world inflicted, for disobedience to their earthly Sovereign, and those that shall be inflicted in the world to come for disobedience to God, have need to be taught to distinguish well between what is, and what is not necessary to eternal Salvation. — Now (c) all that is necessary to Salvation, is contained in two Vertues, Faith in Christ, and Obedience to Laws. Now — (d) our Saviour Christ hath given us no new Laws, but counsel to observe those we are subject to; that is to say, the Laws of Nature, and the Laws of our several Sovereigns: and for Faith, The (e) (*Unum necessarium*) onely Article of Faith, which the Scripture maketh simply necessary to Salvation, is this, That Jesus is the Christ. Having thus (f) shewn, what is necessary to Salvation; it is not hard to reconcile our obedience to God, with our obedience to the civil So-

b Lev. p.
321..c.43.

c Lev. p.
322.
d *Ibid.*
Sect.3.

e Lev. p.
324.

f Lev. p.
330.

Sovereign, who is either Christian or Infidel. If he be a Christian, he alloweth the belief of this Article, that Jesus is the Christ; and of all the Articles that are contained in it; or, are, by evident consequence, deduced from it; which is all the Faith necessary to Salvation: and because he is a Sovereign, he requireth obedience to all his own, that is, to all the civil Laws; in which also are contained all the Laws of Nature, that is, all the Laws of God: for besides the Laws of Nature, and the Laws of the Church, which are part of the civil Law, (for the Church that can make Laws is the Commonwealth,) there be no other Laws Divine. — And when the civil Sovereign is an Infidel, every one of his own subjects that resisteth him, sinneth against the Laws of God. — And for their Faith (*g*) it is internal, and invisible; they have the License that *Naaman* had, and need not put themselves into danger for it. But if they do, they ought to expect their reward in Heaven, and not to complain of their lawful Sovereign — In the mean time, they are to intend to obey Christ at his coming, but at present they are bound to obey the Laws of that Infidel King: all Christians are bound in conscience so to do. — Thought is free (*b*) — but when it comes to confession of Faith, the private Reason must submit to the publick; that is to say, to Gods Lieutenant.

g Lev. p.
331.

b Lev. p.
238.

Sind. Instead of the resolution of this Query,

ry, when we are to obey God, rather than man, you shew that we may very well do both together; and so indirectly you accuse the Apostles of falshood or folly in their suggestion: And because it is apparent that some Laws of men do contradict the Laws of God; whilst you affirm that the former are always to be obey'd, you suppose (by consequence) men oblig'd to contrary duties at the same time, and, so, under an absolute necessity of sinning. And here again you repeat your errors, that Christ hath not made any new Laws, and that the Faith of a Christian is intire without, or contrary to profession; and you suppose, what the experience of the World refuteth, that Infidel Kings command not sometimes against the Laws of Nature. Also, whilst here you remit the Martyrs, scoffingly, to heaven for a reward, you fall unawares, into the mock of *Julian* the Apostate, who amidst his cruelties, us'd this taunt; *It becometh not you Christians to complain of my persecutions, because, by them, ye gain the Kingdom of Heaven.* But it such persons as suffer for Christianity, shall be rewarded in Heaven; their constancie then was noble and excellent, whilst they chose trouble rather than base compliance; and those who inflicted evils on them for doing what God approved, were unjust. If then you remit the Martyrs to Heaven, you send the civil Sovereigns, who shed the blood of the Apostles for disobedience to their unrighteous Edicts, to a place of less refreshment.

1 Lev. 7,
272.6.42.
p. 273.

Mr. *Hobbes*. You have made your instance in the Apostles, of whose Martyrdom I approve, because of their Commission. For others, who hazard their lives for Christianity, I praise them not : he that is not sent (*a*) to preach the fundamental Article, but taketh it upon him of his private Authority, though he be a witness, & consequently a Martyr, either primary of Christ, or secondary of his Apostles, or their Successors, yet is he not obliged to suffer death for that cause ; because being not called thereto, 'tis not required at his hands ; nor ought he to complain, if he looſeth the reward he expecteth from those that never set him on work. None therefore can be a Martyr, neither of the first nor second degree, that have not a warrant to preach Christ come in the Flesh ; that is to say, none, but such as are sent to the conversion of Infidels.

Stud. Every Member of the Christian Society, is bound to profess the Gospel ; as hath been proved : and therefore a private man, though he hath not right, not having Commission, to exercise the Offices of a Priest, yet hath he a command to own the truth, when he is adjur'd to confess of what faith he is ; not only in relation to Christianity in general, but also in relation to the Doctrines of Moment in it, which sometimes the Christian Powers do erre in. And every person will, with readiness, make such profession, notwithstanding the terrors of the civil Sword, who hath sworn in his heart and tongue Allegiance unto Christ, who

who is sincere in his Religion ; who valueth his Soul more than his body ; who is heartily perswaded of a life, or death eternal; the latter of which is

Our Eleventh Subject.

Mr. Hobbes. The maintenance (*b*) of civil Society, depending on Justice, and Justice on the power of Life and Death, and other less rewards and punishments, residing in them that have the Sovereignty of the Commonwealth ; it is impossible a Commonwealth should stand, where any other than the Sovereign, hath a power of giving greater rewards than life, and of inflicting greater punishments than death. Now seeing eternal life is a greater reward than the life present ; and eternal torment a greater punishment than the death of Nature ; it is a thing worthy to be well considered, of all men that desire (by obeying Authority) to avoid the calamities of confusion and Civil War, what is meant, in Holy Scripture, by life eternal, and torment eternal.

Stud. What then is to be understood by eternal Torment, if we aright interpret the holy Scripture ?

Mr. Hobbes. I mean by these, such torments (*a*) as are prepared for the wicked in *Gehenna*, or what place soever, [for a Season]. These have been (*b*) set forth by the Congregation of Gyants ; the Lake of Fire ; utter dark-

b Lev. p.
238, c. 38.

a Lev. p.
345.

b Leviath.
p. 242, 243

darkness ; *Gebenna*, and *Tophet* ; which things are not spoken in a proper , but Metaphorical sense. Now where , or whatsoever, these torments shall be , I (*e*) can finde no where that any man shall live in torments everlastingly.

c Lev. p.
345. Sect. 1
d St. Mat.
25. last.

Stud. In *St. Matthew* (*d*) the same Greek word , in the same sentence, is used in setting forth as well the happiness of the Righteous, as the punishment of the Wicked ; which therefore is to be construed as endless as the joy of the Pious , to the blessedness of whom the most daring *Origenist* hath not affixed a period.

e Lev. p.
345. Sect.
last.

f Lev. p.
245. c. 38.

Mr. Hibber. I confess the torments to be eternal ; but I am of opinion that the same persons do not eternally feel them. The Fire (*e*) or torment prepared for the wicked in *Gebenna*, *Tophet*, or in what place soever, may continue for ever ; and there may never want wicked men to be tormented in them ; though not every, nor any one eternally. The Fire (*f*) prepared for the wicked, is an everlasting fire: that is to say , the estate wherein no man can be without torture, both of body and mind , after the Resurrection, shall endure for ever ; and in that sense the fire shall be unquenchable , and the torments everlasting : but it cannot thence be inferred , that he who shall be cast into that fire, or be tormented with those torments, shall endure, & resist them so, as to be eternally burnt & tortured, and yet never be destroyed, nor dye.

Stud.

Stud. You have by this means, so very much allayed the heat of the everlasting burnings (so far as it can be done by confidence in opinion) that they are rendred almost as tolerable as a death by fire on earth. For the Epithet Everlasting, thus interpreted, cannot mightily affright a single person from evil manners, who considers that the Flame, how long soever it be continued in it self, shall scorch him but for a season. But God in Holy Scripture threatneth every man with perpetual misery; and where (g) it saith that the fire shall not be quenched, g St. Mark 9.44. it saith also, not that *The worm* but *Their worm*, or remorse of conscience, dieth not. Our Saviour also taught us (b) to make our Peace h S. Matt. 5.25,26. with God in this estate of Probation; before we were hal'd to Prison; where every one that cannot pay his debts to that Supreme Lord (towards whom our obligations can scarce be cancelled in that state, where we are depriv'd of means, neglected by us in this life) shall be chain'd to eternal Bondage. St. John also saith, (i) that the Beast and the false Prophet i Rev. 20. 10. shall be tormented in the Lake of Fire and Brimstone, day and night, forever and ever. The Fewel, it seems, shall be as eternal as the Flame.

Mr. Hobbes. It seemeth (k) hard, to say, k Lev. 7. 345. that God who is the Father of Mercies, that doth, in Heaven and Earth, all that he will; that hath the hearts of all men in his disposing; that worketh in men both to do and

to will ; and without whose free gift a man hath neither inclination to good , nor repentance of evil , should punish mens transgressions without any end of time , and with all the extremity of torture , that men can imagine , and more.

Stud. God hath so given such gifts to all , whom he will severely account with , that they are left without Apology. And he will not seem an hard Master , if we have as due a regard to his Majesty and Goodness , both abused by us ; and to our own means , and wilful refusal of the better part , whilst he hath set before us life and death ; as we are wont to have to our own flesh and blood , seeing nothing burneth in Hell (as *St. Bernard* noted) besides the proper will of man.

But why , to You of all men , should this seem hard ? For you believe that the irresistible power of God , as such , doth justify all things ; and (*a*) that the right of afflicting men at his pleasure , belongeth naturally to God Almighty ; not as Creator and gracious ; but as Omnipotent.

This irresistible Power is urged by you , where it serveth your Hypothesis ; and where it yeeldeth no advantage to your Cause , there you will have Mercy to succeed in its place. And this maybe , more particularly observed , in a Section of your Book *De Cive* (*b*). To the sixth Law of Nature (saith that Book) which teacheth that punishments respect the future , belong all those places of Holy Writ , which

a Lev. p.
187.

b De Cive
c. 4. p. 69.
Sect. 9.

which enjoyn the shewing of Mercy ; such as are (*Matth. 5. 7.*) *Blessed are the Merciful : for they shall obtain mercy.* *Lev. 19. 18.* *Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people.* Now there are who think this Law so far from being confirmed, that they imagine it invalidated by the Scriptures : because there remaineth to the wicked eternal punishment after death, where there is no place either for amendment or example. Some resolve this Objection, by saying, that God, who is under no obligation, referreth all things to his own Glory, but that it is not lawful for man to do : as if God would seek his Glory, that is to say, please himself, in the death of a sinner. It is more rightly answer'd, that the institution of eternal punishment was before sin, and respected this only, that men might, for the future, be afraid of sinning.

It is, from this place, to be observed, that you once construed the phrases of Scripture, wherein it speaketh of eternal Torments, with relation to the persons, and not the meer state of Torture ; as also that you here advance not power, but plead for Mercy ; and lastly, that you abuse the veracity of God, by supposing him to scare the children of men, with such bug-bear threatnings, as shall never, upon their most enormous delinquencie, be put in execution.

But in what horrid place, and of what confounding Quality, are the future Torments, if they be not, to single persons, eternal ? for I

cannot but imagine that they are extremely bitter, if they be but short. What then seemeth to you to be the place and state of the damned?

c Lev. p.
242.
d Lev. p.
345, 346.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Gods enemies, and their tormentments after Judgment (c) appear by the Scripture to have their place on earth. And then the Reprobate (d) shall be in the estate, that *Adam*, and his Posterity were in after the first committed; saying that God promised a Redeemer to *Adam*, and such of his seed as should trust in him, and repent; but not to them that should die in their sins, as do the Reprobate. And further — the wicked being left in the estate, they were in after *Adams* sin, may at the Resurrection live as they did, marry, and give in marriage, and have gross and corruptible bodies, as all mankind now have; and consequently, may engender perpetually, after the Resurrection, as they did before.

a Lev. p.
244.

Stud. If all the wicked shall (as you acknowledge [a]), be together raised up, and put into Hell on Earth; if also their condition shall be such as to admit of Generation, eating and drinking (the provisions for which require wide spaces upon earth, not at all possessed by the bodies of men) and there be also required room (as you assert) for the followers of Christ, it will trie the utmost of your Mathematick-skill, to find place sufficient, for the Bodies of all that have already lived, or shall live, before the Universal Judgment. Some of no mean

b See Dr.
B's Pseud.
Epid. p.
374. &c.

degree amongst the Learned (b) have, by probable Rules, computed the number of men before the Flood (who begat Sons and Daughters at a very great age); and have found it to exceed much more than a thousand millions: in-
somuch, that the Flood may seem to have been almost as necessary in relation unto the numbers of people, as to the increase of their iniquities. And they observe how, in less than four hundred years after the Flood, there were Armies (c) in the Eastern Countries, sufficient to leave nothing rising there besides the Sun. If therefore To-
phet be on earth, let it not any more be taken up as a Proverb by us, That Hell cannot be satisfied, seeing it will be gluttied with half the people for whom it is prepared.

c Of Ninus
against the
Bactrians,
consisting of
700000
Foot,
200000
Horse,
10000

Chariots. Of Semiramis against the Indians, of 1300000 Foot,
500000 Horse, 100000 Chariots. Of Staurobates against her, con-
sisting of a greater number.

But, methinks, if that be, in truth, the estate of the Reprobate, which you have described; the literal *Hinnom* may seem to have been over-
spread with greater horror, than the mystical shall be; and the unrighteous may dance and leap with joy in their very chains of darkness; seeing they neither pinch extreamly at the present, nor shall be everlasting: there is nothing more Divine to voluptuous men, than to eat, and drink, and to exonerate nature, and to be immortal in their off-spring.

Mr. Hobbes. You are too hasty in your reflexions: you mistake that for the full description of Hell, which I design'd for the easier part

c Lev. p.
244.

of it. I therefore tell you further, that they (c) shall be punished with grief, and discontent of minde, from the sight of that eternal felicitie in others, which they themselves through their own incredulity, and disobedience, have lost. And because such felicity in others is not sensible but by comparison with their own actual miseries; it followeth that they are to suffer such bodily pains and calamities, as are incident to those, who not onely live under evil and cruel Governours, but have also for Enemy, the eternal King of the Saints, God Almighty.

Stud. But shall not there be Devils let loose upon these persons who have been seduced by them from obedience to God! shall not they be deliver'd over to the Tormentors, who have not discharged their obligations towards him, and have such outward scourges superadded to the lash of remorse within?

d Leviath.
p. 244. *Self.*
1. See Lev.
p. 213.

Mr. Hobbes. For (d) the Tormentors, we have their nature and properties, exactly and properly, delivered by the names of the Enemy, or Satan; the Accuser, or *Diabolus*; the Destroyer, or *Abaddon*: which significant names, *Satan*, *Devil*, *Abaddon*, set not forth to us any individual person, as proper Names use to do; but onely an Office or Quality; and are therefore Appellatives. — Gods Kingdom was in *Palestine*; and the Nations round about were the Kingdoms of the Enemy; and consequently

frequently by *Satan*, is meant any earthly Enemy of the Church. [You are therefore mistaken in the notion of Tormentors. Now that which completeth the misery of the damned is, that they shall dye again.]

Stud. That which you make the top of their calamity, is to be reckoned as a privilege, because it puts an end to their torment together with their being; the continuance of which cannot make recompence for that misery with which, in the real Hell, it will be oppressed: but whence is it proved, by you, that the last pain of the damned is such destruction?

Mr. Hobbes. I learn, from the Scripture (*a*), that amongst bodily pains, is to be reckoned also to every one of the wicked, a second death: for though the Scripture be clear for an universal Resurrection; yet we do not read, that to any of the Reprobate is promised an eternal life. [I know you will now save your self by saying (*b*)] that by the second and everlasting death, is meant a second, and everlasting life, but in torments; a Figure never used but in this very case.

a Lev. p. 244. See p. 243.

b Lev. p. 332.

Stud. The Figure in which we speak, whilst we express a great calamity by *death*, is of common use, in relation to the incommodities of this present life: for nothing is more usual than to say, that to live is to be well. *St. Paul* with reference to his many troubles, said he

c Grotius
in Apoc.
14.13.

died daily. And Grotius, somewhere (c) expoundeth *ἡξει* by such, *quibus vita haud vitalis*. In *Sophocles*, you might have read these words ;

— ἡ πῖσμα' ἔγω
ἔγω τῶτον, ἀλλὰ ἡ ψυχὴν ὁ γῆμα ἡξει.

d Psal. 49.
11.

That this, also, is the true meaning of the second death, appeareth to those who are aware that the phrase was borrowed by St. *John*, from the Hebrew-Doctors ; with whom it was, and is, most frequent, to call the torments of Hell by that very name. Wherefore those words of David, (d) *He seeth that wise men dye*, are thus Paraphrased by the Chaldee Paraphrast : *He shall see wicked wise men, who dye the second death, and are adjudged to Hell.*

Having now attended to your Opinion concerning the Place and Estate of the damned ; methinks, it begetteth, in me, as feeble belief, as the Fables of *Charon*, and the River *Styx*, and the black *Frogs* therein, were wont to do in *Juvenal's* days, amongst the *Romans* ; whose very children, (he says) unless they were so young as not to pay for their Bath, were apt to scoff at such improbable stories.

But let us now understand (in order to the dispatch of our

Twelfth and last Head)

What, more successful *Doctrine you can deliver, concerning the felicities of the just. He that cannot paint a Devil well, is not likely to shew mastery in the painting of an holy Angel :
but

but whatsoever your description be of eternal life, I am ready to fix my eye upon it; and, if I espie reason, to approve it.

Mr. *Hobbes*. In delivering my opinion concerning the future state, I will begin by telling you, that, (e) the Soul of man is not in its own nature eternal, or a living creature independent on the body; and that no meer man is immortal, otherwise then by the Resurrection in the last day, except *Enoch*, and *Elias*. — — But (f) though there be no natural immortality of the Soul; yet there is life eternal, which the Elect shall enjoy by grace. Lev. p. 241.

Stud. It hath been, already, proved, that there is, in man, a spiritual substance which imagineth, remembreth, reasoneth; and that therefore naturally it endureth after the dissolution of that body from which it is, by such notorious marks, distinguish'd; which body, raised up without such a Soul, would be no more the same man, than if any other portion of matter were quickned. Neither doth this soul slumber, till the sounding of the last Trump, at the general resurrection. It is true, that without the assistance of Revelation we cannot, well understand that our withered bodies shall spring out of the dust: and therefore, with reference to the resurrection, the ancient *Jews*, in their Forms of Benediction (g) celebrated the power of God above the ordinary Laws of Nature: and whatever hopes the Heathens may have, they cannot have firm assurance, that their souls shall gD. Pocock in not. in Porta Moyf. p. 149.

shall be permitted to enjoy that duration which they are, by nature capable of ; or that, if they shall be permitted to survive their bodies, they shall have a great, or endless, happiness. For when they consider that there is a God, and that, how virtuous soever they have been, yet, their own consciences bearing witness, they have, too often, transgressed his Laws ; they may be justly suspicious either of annihilation, or at best, of a low degree of felicity : and this suspicion will be increased if, with you, they gaze at his irresistible power, and look not, with hope, upon his *Philanthropie*: and therefore such salvation, as signifieth the advancement of the Soul of man to the utmost height of blessedness, is not of Nature or Humane merit, but of grace ; and an effect of the merits of our Lord, who having overcome death, did open the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers. But yet of this bounty we, in some measure, partake, if we dye as Christians, so soon as ever we have laid down this burthen of the flesh : and of this we are assured by Revelation ; especially, by that in the New Testament : therein we read, that our Saviour promised to the repenting Thief, that very day, a place in *Paradise*, that is, in some Region of happy Souls ; which the Jews were wont to call *Paradise*, or the Garden of pleasure. That, besides the bodily life, there is a Soul in man which cannot be touched by the sword, or utmost violence of our Enemies. That St. *Stephen*, in the very Article of death, commended his Spirit into the hands of Christ, beseeching the same Jesus to receive it. That the

the dead, who dye in the Lord, are from henceforth, or (b) immediately in an happy estate. Neither can we, with tolerable sense, expound the Article of Christs descending into Hell, or into *Hades*, that is, the state of the dead; as also his preaching to Spirits in prison; unless we suppose him to have had an immaterial Soul, whereby his Spirit might be in the state of separate Spirits, as well as his body was in the state of dead bodies, their corruption excepted: for to mean All of the body, is to say in effect, twice over, that he was dead and buried; and so to commit Tautology in the most compendious systeme of the Christian Faith. Neither must we forget the wish of St. Paul, who desired to be dissolved that he might be with Christ; esteeming that far better for his own person, though his continuance in the world was of more advantage to the Christian Church. Now it cannot but be imagined that St. Paul expected, so soon as ever he had quitted this earthly Tabernacle, to be received by Christ, into the mansions prepared above: for seeing his inclinations were so poised betwixt the thoughts of the benefit of the Church, and the delay of his consummate happiness, that he knew not which way to turn the scale; there is no doubt but he would have preferred the advantage of the Church, for which he would gladly spend, and be spent, before such an Estate, wherein, for more then sixteen hundred years, he should not so much as think of Christ, or his holy Gospel, but be as if he had never been.

Mr.

Rev. 14.
13.
Adapt
or de
apt. jam.
nunc. Grot.
in loc.

a Lev. p.
343, 344.

Mr *Hobbes*. [There are other places, perhaps more pertinent, to which I will return an answer.] And first, (a) there are the words of *Solomon* (*Ecclesiastes* 12. 7.) *Then shall the dust return to dust, as it was, and the Spirit shall return to God that gave it*: which may bear well enough (it there be no other Text directly against it) this interpretation, that God onely knows, (but man, not) what becomes of a mans Spirit, when he expireth: and the same *Solomon*, in the same Book, (*Chap.* 3. v. 20. 21.) delivereth the same sentence in the sense I have given it: his words are, *All go (man and beatt) to the same place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again: who knoweth that the Spirit of man goeth upward, and that the Spirit of the beatt goeth downward to the earth?* that is, none knows but God: nor is it an unusual phrase to say of things we understand not, God knows what, and God knows where. — But, what interpretation shall we give, besides the literai sense, of the words of *Solomon*, *Eccles.* 3. 19. *That which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts, even one thing befalleth them: as the one dyeth, so doth the other; yea, they have all one breath (one spirit) so that a man hath no prebeminence above a beatt, for all is vanity.* By the literal sense here is no natural immortality of the Soul.

Stud. You would here impose upon me, by confounding the sense of those several verses, which are to be interpreted apart from each other:

ther. And that we may aright conceive the meaning of them (and not say onely, though perhaps with reason we may do it, I'm sure wth Authority (a), that *Solomon* here, and in other places, doth personate the Atheist; it is fit that we observe how the Preacher, in this book, sets forth the beginning, progress, and ripeness of his disquisition, concerning the happiness of man. Wherefore in the beginning of his enquiry, he setteth down his raw apprehensions: and he relateth in the first and second Chapters, how he, once, thought folly equal wth wisdom, and that there was nothing better than to eat and drink; and what adventures and trials he made, towards the better understanding of what was good for the sons of men: and in this third Chapter, he declareth how full of mystery he found the works of God (v. 11.) and how little was manifest, especially to sensual men, of the future state: but in the eleventh and twelfth Chapters, wherein he declareth his advanced judgement, and calleth men off from the world, to the thoughts of the day of account, and to the early remembrance of their Creator; to the fear of God, and the observance of his commands; he layeth it down as a positive doctrine (a doctrine apt to promote such observance, fear, and remembrance) which at first was delivered, by him, as a probleme, or as the mistake of worldly men, that when the wheel shall be broken at the Cistern, and the circle of our bloud utterly disturbed, *then the dust shall return to the earth*

a Raimond
Pag. Fid.
p. 155.

as it was; and the Spirit shall return to God who gave it.

But if the Spirit be the breath and life, and not an immaterial substance, why make you it so hard to know what becomes of it; so that only God can understand it? for might we not say, that the machine of the body is dissolved, the breath vanisheth in the soft air, the motion is gone from the carcase into ambient bodies? we might then, with equal admiration, say of a Clock broken all to pieces, and in rest; God knoweth what is become of it; for, in both instances, there is only a dissolution of the contexture of the parts and the motion, convey'd to other portions of neighbouring matter.

Why, also, do you vary from the translation of the Hebrew Copy, in Chap. 3. v. 21. for instead of, *Who knoweth the spirit of man that is ascending, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth?* You have thus rendred the words; *Who knoweth that the spirit of man goeth upward?* for there is great difference betwixt this saying, *Who knoweth that Mr. Hobbes is a Mathematician?* and this, *Who knoweth Mr. Hobbes, who is a Mathematician?* The former disposition of *Solomon's* words supposeth a Spirit, and the ascent of it, and withal, our ignorance of the nature of the Soul: the latter leaveth it doubtful whether the spirit ascendeth or not. It is well (though I believe you knew it not your self) that the Seventy Interpreters (a) are, a little, on your side.

a Lxx,
Et div.
Sai. n, &c.

Mr. Hobbes. But what is, on your part, to be said (*b*) to those words of Solomon in *b Lev. p.* Chap. 4. vers. 3. of Ecclesiastes? Better is he *344.* that hath not yet been, than both they, that is, than they that live or have lived; which if the soul of all them that have lived, were immortal, were a hard saying; for then to have an immortal soul, were worse than to have no soul at all.

Stud. To this, the easie truth is to be replyed, that the wise man preferreth a condition of not being (if we suppose him speaking in his own person) before a life of misery: and doubtless it is better to have no soul, than to have a soul immortal, together with immortal grief: and the saying is common amongst Divines, that it had been better for *Dives* to have had no tongue, than to have been possessed of it, meercly as a subject, for the fury of the infernal flames to prey upon: and I think also, it is the natural sense of mankind. Wherefore though *Job* was a man of great fortitude of spirit, and one who feared, by impatience, to offend God; yet when his calamities, as so many waves in thick succession, were ready to overwhelm him, he began to curse the day of his Nativity.

Mr. Hobbes. There is yet another place in the book of Ecclesiastes, which confirmeth my opinion of the state of the dead. It is said, (*c*) in Chap. 9. vers. 5. *That the living know c Lev. p.* they *344.*

they shall dye, but the dead know not any thing ; that is, naturally, and before the resurrection of the body.

d Lev. p.
238.

Stud. For answer to this citation, I refer you to *Diodati*, whose Notes you have no reason to despise, seeing you have submitted the declaration of your judgement (*d*) to the Annotations of the Assembly, who pleased to transcribe so very many places out of the afore-said Authour: observe therefore the context, and his interpretation, which I may represent to you in this Paraphrase. *Vers. 3.* " By reason
" of this indifferencie of events (mentioned by
" *Solomon*, in the beginning of the Chapter)
" worldly men dally with, till they dye in
" their sins. (*Vers. 4.*) For whilst life doth last,
" the gate of hope, and repentance, is open ;
" though men make not use of this opportuni-
" ty in order to their salvation. For a living
" dogg, that is to say, a great sinner alive, is hap-
" pier whilst God grants to him life, and op-
" portunity of conversion ; than a lesser sin-
" ner (compared to a Lyon, which is a more
" noble, and not so unclean a beast as a Dogg)
" who dyeth in his impenitencie, and so is past
" all remedy. *Ver. 5.* For the living know they
" shall die, and through the fear of death, may
" be induced to repentance, whilst there is space
" for it: but the dead know not any thing ; not
" in this sense, that their souls do loose all
" knowledge, conscience, or remembrance ;
" but in this, because it availeth them nothing
" to Salvation ; and they understand not now the

“ the things that belong to their peace ; for
 “ they are, by the absence of opportunity, quite
 “ hidden from their eyes : neither have they
 “ any more a reward , set down for virtue,
 “ whilst a man liveth in this world, which is
 “ the place appointed for us to labour, and run
 “ our race in : for the memory of them is for-
 “ gotten ; God hath for ever cast them off, ac-
 “ cording to that of *David* (a) — — Like the
 “ slain that lye in the grave, whom thou re-
 “ membrest no more : and they are cut off from
 “ thy hand. And this sense of the place is con-
 “ firmed by the tenth verse, where *Solomon* pre-
 “ sseth men to a speedy exercise of Religion, in
 these words : *Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do,*
do it with thy might ; for there is no work, nor de-
vice, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave whi-
ther thou goest.

a Psal. 88,
5.

Mr. *Hobbes*, What answer have you to the
 words of *Job*, (b) Chap. 14. vers. 7. *There is* b Lev. p.
hope of a tree, if it be cut down : though the root 241.
thereof wax old, and the stock thereof dye in the
ground, yet when it senteth the water, it will bud,
and bring forth boughs like a plant: but man dyeth
and wasteth away, yea, man giveth up the ghost,
and where is he ? And (vers. 12.) man lyeth
down, and riseth not till the heavens be no more.
 But when is it, that the heavens shall be no
 more ? *St. Peter* tells us that *it is at the general*
resurrection.

Stud. It hath been thought by some, a suf-
 ficient answer to this place, to understand it of
 R entire

c Truth
springing
out of the
Earth, p.
209.
See Job 7.
9, 10.

entire man, as he consisteth of soul and body ; seeing man is not, man ariseth not, though the soul existeth and ascendeth, before the consummate estate of both, in the great day of the *Messiah*. I know, also, that the Jews, (c) consider *Job* as a Gentile, who had no assurance of a future state, and that he speaketh, in the seventh Chapter, as much against the resurrection of the body, as the immortality of the soul. *As the cloud (saith Job) is consumed and vanisheth away; so he that goeth down to the grave shall come up no more.* And there are many who expound the letter (in the 19 Chap. and 25, 26. verses) of the restitution of *Jobs* body, tormented with worms, to soundnets of health; and of the blessings descending upon him, in his latter days, even to the eclipsing the glories of his first prosperity.

d Lev. p.
339.

Mr. *Hobbes*. What need is there of answer upon answer in the present case? for this doctrine of the natural immortality of the soul, which you so eagerly contend for, is (d) unnecessary to the Christian Faith. For supposing that when a man dyes, there remaineth nothing of him but his carcase; cannot God that raised inanimated dust and clay into a living creature by his word, as easily raise a dead carcass to life again, and continue him alive for ever, or make him dye again, by another word?

Stud. If you attempt, thus, to explain the resurrection of entire man, you will be pressed with such a weighty inconvenience, as cannot, by

by the utmost strength of your wit, be ever sustained. For if man be not raised up by a reunion of his immaterial soul to the main *Stamina* of such a body as he, sometimes, had; but meerly by the framing again, and moving of such matter as he is supposed to have wholly consisted of, and by the help of which he hath done worthy, or shameful acts; then either the same man, who obeyed or transgressed, is not raised up to an estate of reward or punishment; or else he is raised with all the parts of matter which conduced to action, and appertained to him, almost from the cradle, to the grave, and is, therefore, in the last day, of such dimensions, that he may not onely equal the ancient Gyants of which we read in story, but likewise come nigh the bulk of those very mountains which they are said to have heaped up in defiance of Heaven.

Mr. Hobbes. Well; whatsoever the essence of man is, or whensoever any part of him is supposed to be happy; it is most probable, that, at the last day, the place of heaven, shall be on earth. The (a) Kingdom of God in the writings of Divines, and specially in Sermons, and Treatises of devotion, is taken most commonly for eternal felicity, after this life, in the highest heaven, which they also call the Kingdom of Glory; and sometimes for (the earnest of that felicity) sanctification, which they term the Kingdom of Grace; but never for the Monarchy, that is to say, the Sovereign power of God over any subjects acquired by their own

*a Lev. c. 35
p. 216.*

b Lev. p.
240. See
more to this
purpose, in
this page.

consent, which is the proper signification of Kingdom. To the contrary, I finde the Kingdom of God to signifie, in most places of Scripture, a Kingdom properly so named, constituted by the votes of the people of *Israel* in peculiar manner; wherein they chose God for their King by Covenant made with him, upon Gods promising them the possession of the land of *Canaan* — Now the Throne (b) of this our King is in Heaven, without any necessity evident in Scripture, that man shall ascend to his happiness any higher than Gods footstool the earth.

Stud. There is no need of the consent of men, in the right notion, of the Kingdom of God; for the Lord is King, be the people never so unquiet. Also, there is nothing more frequent, in the New Testament, than the notion of Gods Kingdom of Grace in the dispensation of the Gospel; and of glory, in the highest Heavens. And for the latter, we pray in the second petition of that Form which our Lord taught us; and the former we acknowledge in the Doxologie. The holy *Baptist*, being the fore-runner of the Christ, preached unto the Jews (who though they justified themselves at present by the works of the Law, yet held repentance necessary to the reception of the *Messiah*) the Doctrine of *Penance*; adding this reason, because *the kingdom of heaven was at hand*: and this had been an improper Doctrine, if the *Messiah*, as you dream, was not to have a Kingdom, till after more than sixteen hundred

dred years. Our Lord, also (in the twelfth Chapter of *St. Matthew*) proveth, by his great power over *Satan* and the Kingdom of darkness, that the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, was then come. And he declared (d) That Baptism was a Sacrament of entrance and admission into the Kingdom of the Gospel. And he (e) receiv'd the *Hosannah's* of the people, who saluted him as that King of *Israel*, who came unto them in the name of the Lord. And when he was asked (f) by the *Pharisees*, when the Kingdom of God should come, he answered; *The Kingdom of God is within you*, that is, it is already come, it is (g) amongst you. The further manifestation of his Kingdom, he foretold, in prophesying of his coming to take vengeance on the bloody Jews, by his scourges, the *Romans*, in the destruction of *Jerusalem*: The History of which, as it standeth in *Josephus*, if it be duly compared with the predictions of our Lord, is sufficient to stop the widest mouth of profaneness; and to hold up a powerful light against the dim Eye-balls of the most forsaken Atheists. To this the words of *St. Mark* have relation, in the ninth Chapter, and first Verse: *Verily I say unto you, that there be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power.*

d *St. John*
3.5.e *John* 12.
13.f *Luk.* 17.
20, 21.g *Ev. Jo-*
hanis,
Luk. 1. 28.
Inter Mu-
lit.

Mr. Hobbes. Those words (alledged [b] by *Beza* long ago) if taken grammatically, make it certain, that either some of those men that

b *Lev. p.*
341, 342;

stood by Christ at that time, are yet alive; or else that the Kingdom of God must be now in this present world. — But yet if this Kingdom were to come at the Resurrection of Christ, why is it said, *Some of them*, rather than, *All*? for they all lived till after Christ was risen.

Stud. Christ, at his Resurrection, had vindicated to himself, by way of conquest over Death and Hell, this spiritual Kingdom; but the manifestation of it, in power, was displayed in the desolation of the City of *Jerusalem*. And because (for instance) St. *John* liv'd, to see the triumph of Christ, over his b'oud-thirty Enemies, though all the Apostles did not; there was, therefore, reason for saying, *Some of them*, rather than, *All*.

a Lev. p.
342.

Mr. *Hobbes*. If (a) it be lawful to conjecture at the meaning of the words, by that which immediately follows, both here, and in St. *Luke*, where the same is again repeated, it is not improbable, to say they have relation to the Transfiguration, which is described in the Verses immediately following. — And so the promise of Christ was accomplished by way of *Vision*.

Stud. You are to look backward, and not forward: for the words do manifestly relate to those of the eighth Chapter, where our Saviour had commanded the embracers of his Gospel to take up the Cross; and promised that,
by

by their constancie in their Christian Profession, they should save their lives; whilst, others, who would endeavour to preserve life by denying the persecuted faith, should be destroyed: and so it came to pass, when *Gallus*, even against the reason of State, did raise the Siege before *Jerusalem*; the Christians and convert-Jews, escaping, whilst a door was open, unto the Mountains, and into the City *Pella*; and not remaining till *Titus*, some months after, renewed the Sieg. After this exhortation to constancie, and promise of deliverance, our Saviour, threatened that he would be ashamed of such, who should refuse to confess him before men, at his coming, in the glory of his Father, with his holy Angels: which coming with Angels, and open rejection of cowardly spirits, (importing their present claim, and his refusal) agreeth not to his Transfiguration, which was transacted in secret with some of the Disciples, and the apparition of *Moses* and *Elias*. — There is therefore reason for Divines, to insist upon a Kingdom of Christ, already come, a Kingdom of the Gospel: neither want they reason on their side, when they affirm, that the Kingdom of Glory is in the highest Heavens; and not on earth: which, if men rise the same they were, when they acted in the present world (retaining all their parts, howsoever new-moulded,) then according to your Hypothesis, which conceiveth man to be wholly material, the whole earth will be little enough to give the Blessed space, wherein to move with pleasure; and we shall be as much in the dark

for the place of the damned, as the place it self is said to be.

Our blessed Saviour hath assur'd us, that we shall in the Resurrection, be like the Angels. And *St. Paul* hath, also, informed Christians, that they shall be endued with Cælestial Bodies, when they have put off these earthly Sepulchres in which their nobler mindes lay entomb'd; and that this body of flesh and blood (for of that, is his whole discourse (a) and not of any moral body, of sin and corruption) shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. And from hence *Athenagoras* (b) hath been taught to say, that in the Resurrection, we shall not be as flesh, though we bear flesh about us. Now this Angelical, Cælestial Body, seemeth very unagreeable to the condition of Inhabitants upon earth: neither had innocent *Adam* such a body in Paradise. And it is, also, to be noted, that the Blessed cannot, by any means enjoy such Cælestial Bodies, according to the principles by you delivered; and of this I, above, have given some intimation. For it may be only a piece of well-disposed matter, and is devoid of an immaterial soul, upon the permanent oneness of which dependeth, chiefly, his individuation; he is no more the same person upon so great an alteration made in the contexture of the body, than a spire of Grass is the same with part of the flesh of an Ox, into which, by digestion, it is transform'd.

But why doth it seem to you incredible, that holy men shall be caught up with *Enoch*, and *Elias*, and *St. Paul*, and enjoy their happiness in

a *St. Hieron. in Esai. c. 24. p. 102. Caro & sanguis vrg. Dei non possidebunt. Non quod, secundum hereticos, disperat natura corporum, sed quod corruptivum hoc induat incorruptionem, &c.*
b *Athenag. p. 35.*

in Heavenly Regions, when there are so many places of Scripture which look that way?

Our blessed Lord (a) administ'reth comfort to such as bear his Cross, by telling them that their reward is great in Heaven. And he adviseth (b) all his followers, to lay up for themselves treasures, not on earth, but in the heavens; that their hearts may with the greater facility be lifted up, by Divine and Heavenly Meditation. And (c) he spake these words of consolation to his Disciples who began to be most deeply concerned, at the thoughts of his departure: *Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Fathers house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto my self, that where I am, there ye may be also.* This, then, was the Doctrine of Christ; as also of his Apostles. St. Paul delivereth this Doctrine with much confidence, saying (d), *We know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.* And (e) he bleisseth God for the faith of the Colossians; and for the hope which was laid up for them, in the Heavens. And he comforteth the Thessalonians (f), after this manner: *The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Arch-angel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the*

a Matt. 5.
12.

b Matt. 6.
19, 20, 31.
and Luke
12. 33.

c Joh. 14.
1, 2, 3.

d 2 Cor. 3.
1.

e Col. 1. 5.

f 1 Thess.
4. 10, 17.

the.

the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.

g Heb. 10.
34.

The Author, also, of the Epistle to the Hebrews (g), extolleth the patience of the afflicted Converts, and likewise insinuateth the great reason which they had to take joyfully the spoiling of their earthly goods, because they had, in Heaven, a better and induring substance.

h Joh. 3. 13
Lev. 2. 24,
241.

Mr. Hobbes. I have, with much patience, attended to your citations: there is reason that now you should listen to such as on my side, may be produced. We finde (h) written in St. John, *That no man hath ascended into heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the son of man that is in heaven* — yet Christ was then not in heaven, but upon the earth. The like is said of David (Acts 2. 34.) where St. Peter, to prove the Ascension of Christ, using the words of the Psalmist (i), *Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thine holy One to see corruption*, saith, they were spoken (not of David, but) of Christ; and to prove it, addeth this reason, For David is not ascended into Heaven. But to this a man may easily answer, and say, that though their bodies were not to ascend till the general day of Judgement, yet their souls were in Heaven, as soon as they were departed from their bodies, which also seemeth to be confirmed by the words of our Saviour (k) who proving the Resurrection out of the words of Moses, saith thus, *That the dead are raised*, even Moses shewed, at the bush, when he called the Lord, The God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. For he is not

i Psal. 16.
10.

k Luk. 20.
37, 38.

a God of the dead, but of the living; for they all live to him. But if these words be to be understood onely of the immortality of the soul, they prove not at all that which our Saviour intended to prove, which was the Resurrection of the body, that is to say, the immortality of man. Therefore our Saviour meaneth that those Patriarchs were immortal; not by a property consequent to the Essence, and Nature of Mankind; but by the Will of God, that was pleased, of his meer Grace, to bestow eternal life upon the faithful. And though at that time the Patriarchs, and many other faithful men were dead, yet, as it is in the Text, *they lived to God*; that is, they were written in the Book of Life with them that were absolved of their sins, and ordained to life eternal at the Resurrection.

Sind. Our Lord design'd to prove a future state, against the Sadducees, who denyed, not onely the Resurrection of the body, but likewise the existence of Angel or Spirit: and the words *αἰώνιος* or *ἕως αἰῶνος*, do not always imply the raising of the body; but, being used without the addition of flesh or body, do usually denote the future life, and the awakening, and advancing of the Soul; or the conserving or keeping of it alive; as God is said to have raised up *Pharaoh*, that is, to have kept him still alive (*a*). And whereas you suggest, that the Patriarchs were alive onely by destination; it is an exposition derived by you, from your Hypothesis, that man is wholly mortal, and not from the

letter

a Vorst. in Rom. 9. 17. ἔζησεν. or. Hoc est, feci ut resurrexer, vel superesset. sec. Hebr. itaq; sensus est, Noli te excindere, sed potius servare.

letter of the words, where Christ speaketh in the present, and not the future time; affirming that the Patriarchs live already, and not that they shall be awakened unto life, after many hundreds of years.

† Lev. p.
239.

Mr. Hobbes. A second place is (b) that in St. Paul (1 Cor. 15. 22.) *For as in Adam all dye, even so in Christ shall all be made alive*— Now, if as in Adam, all dye, that is, have forfeited Paradise, and eternal life on earth; so in Christ all shall be made alive; then all men shall be made to live on earth: for else the comparison were not proper.

Stud. That Adam, if he had remained obedient, should have lived eternally upon earth, together with all the race of men to have been produced out of his Loyns (to whom this earth would, at last, have denyed Elbow-room) is a conceit of yours which reason doth not favour. For the first man was of the earth earthy, he was sustained by corruptible food; he was design'd for propagation before his fall: which things seem to argue a mortal nature, and are, by our Saviour, excepted from the condition of those who shall enjoy eternal blessedness. And though it was said to him, that in eating the forbidden fruit he should dye the death, that argueth thenceforth a necessity of dying, and denyeth not a capableness of dying formerly: and though God Almighty could have sustain'd his mortal nature for ever upon earth, yet there is (as I think) no promise of it in holy Writ:
and

and whilst we consider the future estate of blessed men, described in Scripture; there is some reason for us to believe, that he should have rather been translated to an Heavenly Paradise, than to have dwelt, for ever, in the *Eden* below.

Neither was it the business of the Apostle, in this Text, to determine any thing of the place, but to set forth the privilege of Believers, by the means of Christ, at the last day. The meaning of the Apostle, who speaketh here of those that are Christs, seems no other than this. As all who came from *Adam* were obnoxious to death, and could not, naturally, claim the privilege of a Resurrection to life eternal: So all who believe in the *Messiah* shall not rot for ever in the grave, but be raised up to everlasting happiness. To this sense agree both *Crellius*, and *Vorsinus*, whom I, the rather, name to you, because they were men of singularity in conceit, and such as stepped out of the beaten Road of Divinity, which the Orthodox believe the truest and safest way. In the Paraphrase of this comparison, *All* of one kinde, is answered by *All* of the other kinde, and death by life: And therefore there is no impropriety in the comparison, though, in other particulars, the things compared disagree. The main scope of the Apostle, in setting forth the advantage of Believers at that day, by Christ, doth justify the similitude, though the place of life be not the same to all the sons of *Adam* which was possessed by that Root of mankind. *Parables* (saith *Salmeron*, who wrote of them) are like

to swords; the Hiltts and Scabbards of them are variously wrought, but it is the Edge whereby they do execution.

c Lev. p.
345.

d Lev. p.
246.

Mr. Hobbes. Notwithstanding what hath been talk'd, I still maintain that (c) the Elect after the Resurrection shall be restored to the estate, wherein *Adam* was before he had sinned: [and that the place shall be on earth, and more particularly at and about *Jerusalem*]. Concerning (d) the general salvation, because it must be in the Kingdom of Heaven, there is great difficulty concerning the place. On one side, by Kingdom (which is an estate ordained by men for their perpetual security against Enemies, and want) it seemeth that this Salvation shall be on earth: for by Salvation is set forth unto us, a glorious reign of our King, by conquest; not a safety by escape: and therefore there where we look for Salvation, we must look also for triumph, and before triumph, for victory; and before victory, for battel: which cannot well be supposed, shall be in heaven — and it is evident by Scripture, that Salvation shall be on earth, then when God shall reign (at the coming again of Christ) in *Jerusalem*; and from *Jerusalem* shall proceed the Salvation of the Gentiles that shall be received into Gods Kingdom.

Stud. In this speech of yours, there is a threefold error, easily confuted and broken in sunder. First, you say the Elect shall be in the estate of innocent *Adam*; and you would have

com-

comparison answer comparison, as face answer-
 eth face. Yet our Saviour saith, That *the elect*
shall neither eat, drink, nor marry. Secondly,
 you suppose a War in the estate of the heaven
 on earth; and after that victory: the former
 of which, is inconsistent with that uninterru-
 pted peace which the Scripture ascribeth to
 that estate; and the latter is meant of Christ
 the Captain of our Salvation conquering
 death, in behalf of Believers, by dying, and a-
 rising again, and triumphing over death in a-
 scending and reigning at Gods Right-hand.
 Wherefore St. Paul saith, (a) *O death, where*
is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory? And,
again, Thanks be to God which giveth us the victo-
ry, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Neither (in
 the third place) do you speak consistently with
 your self, when you mention *Jerusalem* as the
 Metropolis of Heaven. For blessedness being,
 by you supposed the recovery of the estate lost
 in *Adam*, the chief seat of it ought, by you, to
 have been fixed in the Region of *Eden*; which,
 where it is, those Atheists, who scoff at the
 story of *Adam*, may be instructed, both in rela-
 tion to their knowledge and manners, by a
 late most Learned (b) Geographer and Divine.

a 1 Cor.
15. 55, 56.

b Mr. Car-
 ver of the
 (situation of
 the terrestri-
 al Paradise.

Mr. Hobbes. Will you suffer me to proceed
 in proving that the future state of Gods sub-
 jects shall be upon earth, and particularly at
Jerusalem?

Stud. You shall not be unseasonably inter-
 rupted.

Mr.

c Lev. p.
239.

Mr. *Hobbes*. That it shall be on earth is proved from a third place (c), *Rev. 2. 7.* *To him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of Life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.* This was the Tree of *Adams* eternal life; but his life was to have been on earth.

Stud. You here mistake (as many have done in attempting to unfold the *Revelation*) this Book of Mysteries, which representeth, Allegorically, to our senses, the things in Heaven, by patterns on earth. There is a Paradise not upon earth; an entrance into which our Saviour promised to the relenting and believing Malefactor, that very day, upon the Cross. Besides, the meer letter of the Text fixeth the chief Seat of Heaven in *Eden*, not in *Jerusalem*.

Mr. *Hobbes*. To my opinion concerning the
d Lev. 1b. Heavenly *Jerusalem* on earth, seemeth (d) to agree that of the *Psalmist* (*Psal. 133. 3.*) *Upon Zion God commanded the blessing, even life for evermore: for Zion, is in Jerusalem, upon earth.*

Stud. This blessing is meant of temporal long life which God promised, so especially, to the obedient, in the Land of *Canaan*: neither can it (with reason) be interpreted of a life eternal; for *David* saith, in the time past, that God did there command a blessing. Besides, though *Zion* was at *Jerusalem*; yet *Herman*, which is first named

named, was on the other side of *Jordan*, on the utmost part of the holy Land Eastward.

Mr. *Hobbes*. My opinion seemeth, again, to be confirmed (a) by St. *John*, (*Rev.* 21. 2.) ^{a Lev. 7.} where he saith, *I John saw the holy City, new* ^{239.} *Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.* And again, *vers.* 10. to the same effect; as if he should say, *The new Jerusalem, the paradise of God, at the coming again of Christ, should come down to Gods people from heaven, and not they go up to it from earth.*

Stud. Heaven is the *Jerusalem* above, which the Patriarchs sought (b) in contra-distinction ^{b Heb. 11.} to *Canaan* below: of this *Jerusalem* above, St. ^{10, 16.} *Paul* saith (c) that it is free (that is, typed by *Sarah* the free-woman; and cannot but be free from Enemies; seeing God is the King of it) ^{c Gal. 4.} and that it is the mother of us all; that is, the ^{25, 26.} Gospel came thence immediately by Christ, and not, as the Law, by the mediation of an Angel. Our Original, as Christians, we owe to heaven, and thence are we nourished and preserved by the Divine Grace: and to the revelation of this *Jerusalem* Christians attain, by the preaching of the Gospel, which is a dispensation of more clearness and comfort than the Law (d). And the new *Jerusalem* descending ^{d See Heb.} is a type of Heaven in a glorious estate of the ^{12. 18, 19} Christian Church on earth; the commencement ^{25.} of which hath much puzzled those who have spent their studies about the great *Millenium*.

e Rev. 21.
24.

f Rev. 20.
7, 8, 9.

g M. Mede
in Clav.
Apor. par.
2. p. 334.
Synch. 6.

But this new *Jerusalem* descended is not to be esteemed the citate of just men made perfect, because it is said that the (e) Nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and also that after the thousand years, wherein the Martyrs are thought to raigū with Christ, in the new *Jerusalem* below; the devil (f) shall be loosed and go out to deceive the Nations, and with them, as Enemies in battel-array, to encompass the holy City: which things are improperly ascribed to a state of intire joy, in the life eternal of the saved, in the *Jerusalem* above. If then, (as Mr. Mede affirmeth (g) and attempteth to prove) the new *Jerusalem* Synchronizeth with the seventh Trumpet or Interval from the destruction of the beast, and supposeth afterwards a loosing of Satan, it cannot be understood of the highest heaven, or the consummate happiness of man.

Mr. Hubbes. [There are behind, divers places in the Prophets, in order to the evading of whose force, you will much perplex your understanding: and when I have once produced them, I shall then have done drawing, at my end, of this Saw of disputation.]

h Lev. 9.
246, 247.
638.

How good soever (h) the Reason, before alladged, may be, I will not trust to it, without very evident places of Scripture. The state of Salvation is described at large, *Isaiah* 33. vers. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities: thine eyes shall see *Jerusalem* a quiet habitation a tabernacle that shall not be raigū down: nor one of the stakes thereof shall

ever be removed, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken. But there the glorious Lord will be unto us a place of broad Rivers, and streams; wherein shall go no galley with oars; neither shall gallant ship pass thereby. For the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King, he will save us. Thy tacklings are loosed; they could not well strengthen their mast; they could not spread the sail: then is the prey, of a great spoil divided, the lame take the prey, and the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick; the people that shall dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity. In which words we have the place from whence salvation is to proceed, *Jerusalem*, a quiet habitation; the eternity of it, a Tabernacle that shall not be taken down, &c. the Saviour of it, the Lord, their Judge, their Law-giver, their King, he will save us; the Salvation, the Lord shall be to them as a broad Mote of swift waters, &c. The condition of their enemies, their tacklings are loose, their masts weak, the lame shall take the spoil of them: The condition of the saved, the inhabitant shall not say, I am sick: and lastly, all this comprehended in forgiveness of sin; the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity. By which it is evident that Salvation (as I said) shall be on earth, then, when God shall reign (at the coming again of Christ) in *Jerusalem*; and from *Jerusalem* shall proceed the Salvation of the Gentiles that shall be received into Gods kingdom: as is also more expressly declared by the same Prophet, Chap. 65. 20, 21. And they that is, the Gentiles who had any Jews in bondage shall

bring all your brethren for an offering to the Lord out of all Nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mount in Jerusalem, saith the Lord, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord: and I will also take of them for Priests, and for Levites, saith the Lord. Whereby it is manifest, that the chief seat of Gods kingdom (which is the place from whence the salvation of us that were Gentiles, shall proceed) shall be *Jerusalem*: and the same is also confirmed by our Saviour, in his discourse with the woman of *Samaria*, concerning the place of Gods worship; to whom he saith, *Job. 4. 22. That the Samaritans worshipped they knew not what, but the Jews worship what they knew*, for salvation is of the Jews, (*ex Judeis*, that is, begins at the Jews:) as if he should say, You worship God, but know not by whom he will save you, as we do, that know it shall be by one of the tribe of *Judah*, a *Jew*, not a *Samaritan*: and therefore also the woman not impertinently answered him again, *We know the Messiah shall come*. So that which our Saviour saith, *Salvation is from the Jews*, is the same that *S. Paul* sayes, (*Rom. 1. 16, 17.*) *The Gospel is the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek: for therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith; from the faith of the Jew, to the faith of the Gentile*. In the like sense the Prophet *Joel* describing the day of judgement (*Chap. 2. 30, 31.*) that God would shew wonders in heaven, and in earth, blood and fire, and pillars of smoke

smoke; the Sun shall be turned into darkness, and the Moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come; he addeth, ver. 32. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved: for in mount Zion, and in Jerusalem shall be Salvation. And Obadiash, ver. 17. saith the same: Upon mount Zion shall be deliverance, and there shall be holyness, and the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions, that is, the possessions of the heathen; which possessions he expresseth most particularly in the following verses, by the mount of Esau, the land of the Philistines, the fields of Ephraim, of Samaria, Gilead, and the Cities of the South; and concludes with these words, The kingdom shall be the Lords. All these places are for salvation, and the kingdom of God (after the day of judgement) upon earth.

Stud. It is manifest that *Isaiab*, in those places, meaneth the salvation from *Senacherib* and the *Assyrians*, wrought by God himself, in the days of *Hezekiah*, whilst the Jews relied upon *Sethon*, who deceiv'd them, hoping that the *Assyrians* and they weakening each other, his strength might be the better promoted against both. The Prophecie of *Joel* concerneth, literally, those times, when the *Caldeans*, by sword and fire, destroyed *Jerusalem*; at which season, (according to the height of the prophetick style) the very face of the heavens (by reason of the flames, and smoke, and streams of blood) were alter'd, to the amazement of common spectators. It seemeth also a type of
the

a See 2
Chiron. 28.
9, 16, 17.
b Luk. 24.
47. Rep. &
rem. to be
preached to
all begin-
ning at Je-
rusalem,
Acts 13.
46. — the
word first
spoken to
you. —

the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*. The saved, *vers.* 32, were the Captives reserved alive, a remnant design'd by God for the continuance of his Church. *Obadiah* is to be understood (a) of the destruction of the *Edomites*, and of the aforesaid Salvation from the *Assyrians*. The places in *St. John*, and *St. Paul*, relate to the beginning of the Gospel, and not to the beginning of the kingdom of glory (b); the *Messiah* according to the flesh, arising from that Nation; and the Gospel being first offered to them. You should have done well to have added those other words in *St. John* (*vers.* 21.) *The hour cometh, and now is, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem worship the Father.* You have, for the serving your hypothelisis, erred most grossly in these your last interpretations of holy Writ: and I cannot but pity you, whilst I perceive you, ingloriously, stumbling, when you are just stepping out of this disputation. Let no man, hereafter, honour you with the name of Philosopher, who findeth you no happier at the interpretation of Nature, than of the holy Bible; into the inward sense of which you enter not, by any expedite unlocking of its Mysteries; being resolved to force a way, through it, to your own novel conceits. But at this, I am not to be astonished: for there is so much learning, and so much attention required to the true understanding of divers sections of holy Writ; that if a man hath not made it much his business, to study, and meditate, about that true and concerning part of Antiquity; to com-

compare text with text, and reading with reading, and sacred History with profane; his thoughts will scarce be worth the writing down upon the most neglected piece of paper. Good Sir be wise to sobriety; handle the Scripture with more reverence and care, be not rashly busie in relation to the things of the Altar, for there is a burning coal, ready, always, to stick to a prophane finger, which will endanger something of greater price than your reputation.

Mr. Hibber. You your self have not examined (a) the Scriptures to the bottom: therefore you perhaps may be, but are not yet, a good Divine. I would you had but so much Ethicks, as to be civil: but you are a notable expositor, so fare you well, and consider what honour you do to the University of which you have been a member, and what honour you do to *Corpus Christi* Colledge, by your Divinity; and what honour you do to your Degree, with the manner of your language: and take this counsel along with you; think me no more worthy of your pains; you see how I have fouled your fingers.

a An Imitation of his concluf. of Stigmaj, p. 31.

Stud. Nay, if the scene be so changed, that we must rail and quarrel instead of debating matters with sober reason, it is time to have done: the world having long since, had enough of passion and impertinent noise.

The End.

ERRATA.

IN Epistle Dedicatory. Line 2 for leasure read *leisure*.

In the Book. P.4. l.3. for origine r. *origin*. P.5. in Marg. for *trois*, r. *trois* ? P.11. l.32. blot out the comma. P.13. in Marg. blot out the latter accent in *αὐτοβουλία*. P.20. in Marg. for *συρραῶν* r. *συρραῶς*. P.20. l.25. for An. r. *Autolyens*. P.21. in Marg. for Θιδυ r. Θιδυ. P.28. l.23. for then r. *thence*. P.42. Marg. for 1650 r. 1651. P.45. l.16. for later r. *latter*. l.17. blot out *in*. P.48. l.15. for may man r. *man may*. P.54. l.12. for neceness r. *nicecess*. P.72. l.31. for dark r. *the dark*. P.78. l.15. for good r. *a good*. P.109. l.19. for necessier. *necessarie*. P.167. l.28. for shadow r. *shadow*. P.188. l.1. for hmir. *bim*. P.208. l.25. for *Demon* r. *Demons*. P.210. in Marg. for *uxi7n* r. *uxi7s*. P.215. l.15. for of the hearts r. *of hearts*. P.223. l.3. for later r. *latter*.

FINIS.



177

and of a fame too wide to be contain'd betwixt the *Dencalidonian* and *British* Ocean. No, no, there are words more agreeable to his merit, and they have nothing Poetick in them besides the genuine strain of Verse.

*Curst be the man (what do I wish? as though
The wretch already were not so;
But curst on let him be) who thinks it brave
And great, his Countrey to enslave;
Who seeks to overpoise alone
The Balance of a Nation,
Against the whole but naked State;
Who in his own light scale makes up with Arms
the weight.*

b H. *Con.*
fid. p. 12.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I have written concerning *O-liver (b)*, that his Titles and actions were equally unjust.

Stur. This you wrote indeed, but since the return of his Sacred Majesty, who, if men had pursu'd your destructive Principles, and judg'd his Right to have ceased with his Power, had for ever been destitute of any other Throne, than what had been erected in the hearts of the *Loyal*. Mr. *White*, also, the part-boy'd Romanist, who is honour'd with the Title of, *Most Learned*, in the scurrilous Preface to your Book of Fate, declar'd in English, in an unhappy time, (c) that a dispossessed Prince ought neither to be desired, nor to endeavour to return, if the people think themselves to be well, and their Trade and Employment be undisturb'd. And

c T. V *White*
of Obed. and
Govern.
17 ground
p. 144, &c.
to 156. se-
cond Edit.
published
London
1655.

And he addeth also; "Who can answer they
"shall be better by the return of the dispossessed
"party? Surely, in common presumption, the
gainer is like to defend them better then he
who lost it. Certainly for this sentence, at
such a time published to this Nation; if for no
other cause, his Books ought to be burnt in *Eng-
land*, as well as some of them have been con-
demned at *Rome*; unless we suppose the crab-
biness of the style, and the obscureness and
weakness of the Reasoning in them, may tempt
the Author, when better informed, to save
Authority the labour of it. Dr. *Baily* likewise,
revolting from the Church of *England*, forsook
his Loyalty at the same time, and carested *O-
liver*, and hop'd that, by his means, the Pope
might come again, and set his Imperial feet up-
on the neck of English Princes: For he con-
cludes his Legend (a) of the Bishop of *Roche-*
ster, after this manner.

a O. B. life
of Bishop
Fisher, pub-
lished the
same year
with Mr.
VWhites
Book Lon-
don. pag.
260, &c.

"Thus we see Gods Justice in the destruction
"of the Churches Enemies; (meaning *Thomas*
"Cromwel, Vicar-general of the Church under
"Henry the eighth, and spoiler of Religious
"Houses): who knows but that he may help
"her to such Friends, though not such as may
"restore her own Jewels, yet such as may heal
"her of her wounds? And who knows but that
"it may be effected by the same name? *Oliva*
"vera is not so hard to be construed *Oliverus*, as
"that it may not be believed, that a Prophet ra-
"ther then an Herald, gave the common Father
"of Christendom, the now Pope of *Rome*, (*In-*
"nocent the Tenth) such Ensignes of his Nobi-

M

"lity

“lity (*viz.* a Dove holding an Olive-branch in
 “her mouth) since it falls short in nothing of
 “being both a Prophecie and fulfilled, but
 “onely his Highness running into her arms,
 “whose Embleme of Innocence bears him al-
 “ready in her mouth. These Romanists and
 your self agree too well in owning of Usurpers,
 and measuring right by the length of the sword:
 and therefore when such Politicians say, that
Olivers Titles and Actions were equally un-
 just, they are to be understood in such a sense, as
 when we say of a very Dunce, that he is equal-
 ly a Logician and a Grammarian, that is, in
 truth neither.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Believe me Sir, my *Leviathan*
 was written when *Oliver* was but General (*b*)
 who had not yet cheated the Parliament of their
 usurped power: [and I never had a kindness
 for him or them. I lived peaceably under his
 Government, at my return from *France*, and so
 did the Kings Bishops also.] Of the Bishops
 that then were (*c*) — there was not one that
 followed the King out of the Land, though
 they loved him, but lived quietly under the pro-
 tection, first of the Parliament, and then of *O-*
liver (whose Titles and Actions were equally
 unjust) without treachery.

b H. Conf.
 p. 18, 19.

c H. Confid.
 p. 11, 12.

Stud. That this is false, your own Conscience will inform you; for the then Lord Bishop of *London-derry* (a man of whom, to your cost, you have heard) convey'd himself beyond the Seas, and was not there unmindful of

the

the Kings interest; although he hath not boasted of his Travels, as you are wont to do of your living at *Paris*. Let the testimony of Bishop *Taylor*, who was as likely as any man to know and report the truth, decide the controversie: his words are these. (c) 'God having still resolved to afflict us, the good man was forc'd into the fortune of the Patriarchs, to leave his Country and his Charges, and seek for safety and bread in a strange Land. — This worthy man took up his Cross, and followed his Master. — At his leaving the Low-Countries upon the Kings return, some of the Remonstrant Ministers (d) coming to take their leaves of this great man, and desiring that, by his means, the Church of *England* would be kinde to them; he had reason to grant it, because they were learned men, and in many things, of a most excellent belief: yet he reprov'd them, and gave them caution against it, that they approached too near, and gave too much countenance to the great and dangerous errors of the *Socinians*. He thus having served God and the King abroad, God was pleas'd to return to the King and to us all.

c Bp. T.
Fun. ser. p:
49, 50.

d P. 56, 57.

As for divers others of them, some were imprisoned, and others were by reason of Age, not so apt for forraign travel: and at home, they promoted the cause of their Sovereign, which, if all zealous Loyalists had with-drawn themselves, would, by degrees, have dyed away: and because they refused the Oaths impos'd, at the peril of their lives, and of their fortunes,

(which though they were but little, were their all,) they therefore are not to be judged treacherous in undermining the usurped Government, or disloyal to the King in enjoying protection under *Oliver*, whom they neither arm'd, nor owned in power: neither do you, here, take notice of the great number of loyal Priests, of which, some fled beyond the Seas, and others, staying in the Land, were, for the sake of their Allegiance, exposed to as great dangers as the roughest sea could have threatned them with: but it is the manner of some men, to wound true Royalty and Religion through the sides of Ecclesiastick Officers.

a H. Con.
p. 43, 44.

b Lev. c.
21. p. 114.

Mr. Hobbes. I have not said this to upbraid the Bishops, nor ever (*a*) spake I ill of any of them, as to their persons: and against their Office I never writ any thing. I never wrote (I say) against Episcopacie; and it is my private opinion, that such an Episcopacie as is now in *England*, is the most commodious that a Christian King can use for the governing of Christs Flock: [and if they submitted to *Oliver* they did justly, being then absolved of their obedience to their Sovereign]: for the (*b*) obligation of subjects to the Sovereign, is understood to last as long, and no longer, then the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them. — The end of obedience is protection; which, wheresoever a man seeth it, either in his own, or in anothers sword, Nature applyeth his obedience to it, and his *endeavours to maintain it.*

Sind.

Stud. You have here, according as the nature of falshood requireth, backed one untruth with a second : for, in your *Leviathan*(c), you called Episcopacie a Præterpolitical Church-Government, and preferred Independencie above all other forms ; for, at that time, it was gotten uppermost, and seem'd the growing interest ; and Presbytery decayed : the truth is, the latter declin'd before the death of the King, to whose fall, that Party was loath to give the last thrust : but when your *Leviathan* came forth, the house of Lords had been voted useles, and the members that had voted the Kings concessions a ground for the House to proceed to a settiement, were secluded ; and the dregs of the House were Anabaptists and Independents : soon after this (d) you, thus libel'd, that Government which was, then by right, his present Majesties :

c Lev. 2.385.

d Members secluded, Feb. 1. 1648. Lords voted down, Feb. 6. 1648. Lev. pub. Lond. 1651.

The Analysis, of the Pontifical Power, is by the same way, the Synthesis or construction was ; but beginneth with the knot that was last tyed (the Popes Supremacie) ; as we may see in the dissolution of the Præterpolitical Church-Government in England. First the power of the Popes was dissolved totally by Queen Elizabeth ; and the Bishops, who before, exercised their Functions in right of the Pope, did afterwards exercise the same, in the right of the Queen and her successors, though by retaining the Phrase of Jure divino, they were thought to demand it, by immediate right from God : and so was untied the first knot. After this, the Presbyterians lately in England

obtained the putting down of Episcopacie : and so was the second knot dissolved : and almost at the same time, the power was taken also from the Presbyterians : and so we are reduced to the Independencie of the Primitive Christians, to follow Paul, or Cephas, or Apollos, every man as he liketh best ; which, if it be without contention, and without measuring the doctrine of Christ, by our affection to the person of his Minister (the fault which the Apostle reprehended in the Corinthians) is perhaps the best. Wherefore speak no more of your reverence for Episcopacie, whilst you have cryed hail to it, and yet betraid it : neither is it for you to pretend to loyalty, who, when one asked what was the price of a Roman penny, amidst a Discourse of our Civil Wars, (whilst his thoughts were guided by a train, from, our Wars, to the delivering of the King, from that to the delivering of Christ, from that to the thirty pence received by Judas, and from that to the value of the Roman penny) call'd this, in Print, (a) a Malicious question, in the days of the Parliament : as if it were malice, and not just zeal, which occasioned his comparing of the Martyrdom of King Charles to the death of the blessed Jesus. It is not, for you, to pretend to loyalty, who place right in force, and teach the people to assist the Usurper, with active compliance, against a dispossessed Prince ; and not meerly to live, at all adventure, in his Territories, without owning the protection by unlawful oaths, or by running into arms against their dethroned Sovereign.

4 Lev. p. 5.

Mr,

Mr. *Hobbes*. I cannot but place the right of
(a) Government there, wheresoever the ^{a H. Conf.}
strength shall be; [whatsoever be the ignomi-
nious terms with which you revile me.] ^{p. 19.}

Stud. I say then again, (and I neither re-
vile nor slander you, unless it can be done by
the repetition of the truth) that you give en-
couragement to Usurpers; and also, when ci-
vil discords are on foot (as it happens too fre-
quently in all States) you, hereby move such
people as are yet on the side of their lawful
Prince, whose affairs they see declining, strait-
way to adjoyn themselves to the more prosper-
ous party, and to help to overturn those
thrones of Sovereignty, at which, a while be-
fore, they prostrated themselves; For, in your
way of reasoning, they have a right to preserve
or delight themselves, by any course of means,
and can be best protected by the prevailing side,
which because it hath more degrees of growing
power, has it seemeth, therefore more of right.
The people thus mis-instructed, will imitate
those idolatrous Heathens, who, for some years,
worshipped a presumed Goddess made fast unto
an Oak: but as soon as the Tree began, by Age
and Tempest, to appear decaying, they pay'd
no further devotion to their Deity, neither
would they come within the shadow of the
Oak or Image.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Against this abuse of what I
have taught, I have made provision, by inser-
ting this amongst other Laws of Nature, that

M 4

(a) every

a Lev. p.
390. in the
Review.

(a) every man is bound by nature, as much as in him lies, to protect in War the Authority, by which he is himself protected in time of Peace.

b De Cive,
L. I. c. I. p. 12
Sect. 9.

Stud. That Law was forgotten in the body of your *Leviathan*, and cometh late into the review: the wound is first made, and then you endeavour to skin it over; but neither can it so be closed: for this and all other Laws of Nature obliging no further (as hath been already noted) then they promote the first, the Law of self-interest; it is in the choice of every subject (whom (b) you make Judge of the means to preserve himself,) to apply himself to the stronger side; or for a company combin'd in arms and counsel, when an Heir and a Traytor are engag'd in battle with equal success (as was the practice of the Lord *Stanley*, and Sir *William Stanley* and their adherents in the Engagement at *Bosworth-field*) to give the day to the side they presume will most favour them, by over-posing the power of the other side, by their fresh supply. Fear will not keep men from such attempts; especially fear of outward punishment, whilst every one hopes to conquer, and to mend his game (as you well (c) know) by a new shuffle; and is (by you) misperswaded, that failing in the enterpoise, to his temporal peril, is his only offence against the Law of Nature. There is no tie so strong as that of Religion, which eternally bindeth a conscientious subject in allegiance to his Sovereign: and Wars arise from mens self-interests and lusts: and true goodness is both the Creator and Preserver

c Lev. p. 48.

server of Peace : unless a man obeyeth for Conscience sake, all the cords of outward Pacts and Covenants will not hold him, when he dreameth that the *Philistins* are upon him, and that he can deliver himself by force from the power of his Enemies; in which number the Prince himself is reckon'd, by ambitious subjects, out of favour : neither will such Covenants hold the people that pretend unto Religion, if they be mis-taught that God is glorified in their private good, and that their private good is to be valued before the life of a Prince, if they can safely deprive him of it. For it is truly said by a Friend of yours, (a) That zeal, like lead, is as ready to drop into bullets, as to mingle with a composition fit for medicine.

a *Memoires*
of Q. E. p.
53.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Covenants (b) being but words, and breath, have no force to oblige, contain, constrain, or protect any man, but what it has from the publick Sword. The Laws of Nature (c) (as Justice, Equity, Modesty, Mercie, and (in sum) doing to others as we would be done to) of themselves, without the terror of some power, to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our natural passions, that carry us to partiality, pride, revenge, and the like. And Covenants without the Sword, are but words, and of no strength to secure a man at all.

b *Lev. p. 89.*
See p. 87.

c *Lev. p. 85.*

Stud. The matter is much mended by this answer; and you who cause or permit (for with you they are the same) a person, of none of the best manners, in a Preface to your Book of Destiny

stiny, to revile the Embassadors of our Lord, and to levie against them, not the force of argument, but of foaming malice, and to reproach them by saying that they are ignorant Tinkers, and Soderers of Conscience; how do you merit the same mock-name, by making wide holes and passages for every rebellious spirit, instead of stopping an Objection which charged your Doctrine with disloyalty? For thus, Society is like a State of Nature, and all is managed still by force, notwithstanding the formalities of transferring Right by Pacts; and every man is to stand no longer to his bargain, when he can break it to his advantage: And thus, the Prince is always in a state of danger, because he cannot be, a day, secure, of remaining uppermost; seeing the people are taught, by you, to believe, that the right of Authority is a deceit, and that every one would have as good a title, if he had as long a sword: For the many-headed Beast will throw the Rider when he burthens and galls them, having no check of inward Law. For the Prince has but the strength of a single man, and the people can't confer irresistible Power, unless when they lift up their hands on high, they can give up their nerves, and muscles, and spirits, as well as testify their present approbation. Wo to all the Princes upon earth, if this Doctrine be true, and becometh popular: if the multitude believe this; the Prince, not armed with the scales of the *Leviathan*, that is, with irresistible power, can never be safe from the Spears and Barbed irons, which their ambition and presumed interest will provide

vide, and their malice will sharpen, and their passionate violence throw against him. If the Beast, we speak of, come but to know its own strength, it will never be managed: Wherefore such as own these pernicious Doctrines, destructive to all Societies of men, may be said to have Wolves heads, as the Laws of old were wont to speak concerning excommunicated Persons; and are, like those ravenous beasts, so far from deserving our love and care, that they ought to be destroyed at the common charge. What you have written three times over, in your *de Cive*, *de Corpore politico*, and *Leviathan*, ought rather to be esteemed Seeds of sedition, then Elements of government and society: the Principles of the Zealots amongst the Papists (who obey a Forreign Power against the King) are not consistent with the government of *England*; yet, like the Elements in *Aristotle*, they are not burthensome in their proper place of *Italy*: but of such large infection is your doctrine, that it will endanger the life of the Commonwealth, wheresoever it is entertained in the consequences of it.

Mr. Hobbes. At *Paris* (a) I wrote my Book *a H. Conf.*
de Cive in Latine — and I know no book more p.7.
magnified then that beyond the Seas. Natural
Philosophy (b) is but young; but civil Philo- b Dr. ded.
sophy yet much younger, as being no older before de
say it provoked, and that my detractors may Corpore.
know how little they have wrought upon me)
then my own book *de Cive*: a short (c) sum of c Six Less.
that book of mine, now publicly in French, p.56.
done

done by a Gentleman I never saw, carrieth the title of *Ethicks demonstrated*: accuse not then such Politicks as are, though new, yet of sure foundation.

Stud. Your Doctrine is old enough, and I wish it had one property of Age, to be attended with decay. *Carneades* and divers others bottom'd Policie on self-interest, and you have only wire-drawn that which is delivered by them in a lump: and for this, as is the manner of divers who have an itch of writing, you claw your self. I could repeat to you, divers sayings of the antient deceivers in Morality; such as are, *Armatus leges ut cogitem? nec natura potest iusto discernere iniquum*, ——— *utilitas iusti propè mater est equi*, and the like: but you would then turn all off, by deriding me for having made a motly Oration. Whilst you were so conversant with *Thucydides*; the Oration of *Euphemus* (d) delivered there, might have hinted to you your sandy Politicks: for that *Asbenian* Embassador to the *Camarinæi*, amongst other things tending much that way, at last plainly told them, that to a Governor nothing which was profitable was dishonest or unreasonable: which Doctrine, because it invites ambitious men to step into Authority, when the door is open, and mercenary Souldiers to decide a dispute, not in favour of the right, but the most profitable side; because it moveth them that are Supreme to become Tyrants in the exercise of that Power, which Religion ought to limit, though the people may not, and to make their

d Thucyd.
l. 6. p. 467.
Ἀσβενιανὸς δὲ
τὴν ἐκείνην,
ὃ ὥστε
ἀρχὴν
ἔχοντα,
ἐδίδου αὐλο-
γῶν δ', ὅτι
ἐνυμφοῖτο.

their passions their chief Rules, and to Govern with Armies rather than Laws; or, if with both, to die their Flags, and to write their Edicts, in the blood of whom they please: because, I say, it taketh off all the sense of what we call humanity from the Supreme Powers, & so, not unlike to a *Porta Sabina*, lets in innumerable evils upon such people as are quiet and modest; it therefore ought, no more to be sucked in, by Prince or People, than pernicious air in time of common Pestilence.

Mr. Hobbes. I perceive, you are no great friend to the most absolute Sovereignty of Princes, notwithstanding the Scripture alloweth of it. Concerning the Right (a) of Kings, God himself by the mouth of Samuel, (b) saith, *This shall be the right of the King you will have to Reign over you. He shall take your Sons, and set them to drive his Chariots, and to be his Horsemen, and to run before his Chariots; and gather in his harvest; and to make his engines of War, and instruments of his Chariots; and shall take your Daughters to make perfumes, to be his Cooks and Bakers. He shall take your Fields, your Vineyards, and your Olive-yards, and give them to his servants. He shall take the Tythe of your Corn and Wine, and give it to the men of his Chamber, and to his other Servants. He shall take your man-servants, and your maid-servants, and the choice of your youth, and employ them in his business. He shall take the Tythe of your Flocks; and you shall be his Servants.* This is absolute Power, and summed up in the last words, *You shall*
be

a *Levith.*

c. 20. p. 105

b 1 Sam. 8

11, 12, &c.

be his Servants. Again, when the people heard what power their King was to have, yet they
 a Verse 10 consented thereto, and say thus, (a) *We will be as all other Nations, and our King shall judge our causes, and go before us, to conduct our Wars.*

Stud. If you will render ~~down~~ rather by Right, than Manner or Custome; you must not understand it of the Righteousness of the Impositions, but of the Tyrants Right of obliging the people to non-resistance: for *Samuel*, here sets not forth such Qualities as God approveth of in his Lieutenants; but endeavoureth to affright the people from exchanging Theocracie for Monarchy, by describing the Heathen-Potentates in the dreadful extravagancies of their abused Power. And the Answer of the people, is rather to be called the madness of their will, than their consent: for they resolv'd, let what would come en't, not to be out of the fashion of the Gentile-Nations. and yet they promised to themselves, Justice and Defence from the presence of a Monarch; notwithstanding *Samuels* amazing description. And here I will appeal to the Judgment of your own Friend (b) who though he hath extoll'd you in a *Pindarique-Ode*, making use of his large Poetick Licence, yet when he cometh to speak plain English, he appeareth severe against your Exposition. It is (said he) a *VILE OPINION* of those men, and might be punished without Tyranny, if they teach it, who hold, that the Right of Kings is set down by *Samuel* in this place ——— Some

b Mr. A.
 C. in Notes
 on Dav.
 p. 149. Sect.
 16.

deed did exercise it; but that is no more a proof of the Right, than their practice was of the lawfulness of Idolatry. When *Cambyſes* had a mind to marry his Sister, he advised with the *Magi*, whether the Laws did allow it; who answered, That they knew of no Law that did allow it, but that there was a Law which allowed the Kings of *Persia* to do what they would. If this had been the case with the Kings of *Israel*, to what purpose were they enjoined so strictly the perpetual reading, perusing, and observing of the Law (*Dent.* 17.) if they had another particular Law that exempted them from being bound to it?

I might here subjoin the words of a more ancient Author (*a*), who affirmeth, that *Samuel* describ'd not an humane Prince, but an insolent Tyrant; to be sent, as the scourge of God, to that head-strong people.

a Clem.
Alex.
Pedag. l. 3.
p. 229.
— 'Oυ
τὸν φι-

ἀνδραγαθὸν Κύριον, ἀλλ' — ἀνδραγαθὸν τύραννον —

Mr. *Hobbes*. Name not Tyranny as a word of reproach, for the name of Tyranny (*e*) signifieth nothing more nor less, than the name of Sovereignty, be it in one, or many men; saving that they that use the former word, are understood to be angry with them they call Tyrants: and I think the toleration of a professed hatred of Tyranny, is a toleration of hatred to Common-wealth in general — So that here, (*f*) I must say to you, Peace, down, for you bark f *Six Lett.*
now at the Supreme Legislative Power; there- p. 62.
fore

e Lev. p.
392.
Review.

g *Epist. ded
before Lev.*

a *Lev. p.*

105.

b *Lev. p.*

108, 109.

c *ibid. &*

Lev. p. 90,

182.

d *Lev. p.*

128. *See p.*

169.

fore 'tis not I, but the Laws which must rate you off. And now methinks my endeavour (g) to advance the Civil Power, should not be by the Civil Power condemned; nor private men, by reprehending it, declare they think that power too great [and after what manner I endeavor the advancement of it, I think it worth the time to declare to you.] I shew (a) that the Scripture requireth absolute obedience: I teach (b) that the people have made artificial chains, called Civil Laws; which they themselves, by mutual Covenants, have fastned, at one end, to the lips of that man, or Assembly, to whom they have given the Sovereign Power; and at the other end, to their own ears: that, (c) nothing the Sovereign can do to the subjects, can properly be called Injustice or injury: because every Subject is Author of every Act the Sovereign doth. That (d) the propriety of a subject excludeth not the dominion of the Sovereign, but only of another subject.

Stud. Remember Sir, the case of *Ahab* and *Naboth*; unless you suppose it in times of publick necessity.

e *Lev. p.*
95.

f *Lev. p.*

137, 169.

g *Lev. p.*

143. & 26.

Mr. Hobbes. Interrupt me not: I teach also, that (e) the King is the absolute Representative, and that it is dangerous to give such a title to those men, who are sent up by the people to carry their Petitions, and give him (if he permit it) their advice. That (f) the Sovereign is sole Legislator, and not subject to civil Laws. That (g) to him there cannot be any Knot in the

the Law, insoluble ; either by finding out the ends to undo it by ; or else by making what ends he will, (as *Alexander* did with his sword in the *Gordian*-knot) by the Legislative power, which no other Interpreter can do. That there is (*b*) no common Rule of good and evil, to be taken from the Nature of the objects themselves ; but from the Person of the man (where there is no Common-wealth) or , (in a Commonwealth) from the person that representeth it, or from an Arbitrator or Judge, whom men disagreeing shall by consent set up, and make his sentence the rule thereof. That (*i*) where there is no Law, there no killing or any thing else can be unjust. That (*k*) the Civil Sovereign is Judge of what Doctrines are fit to be taught. I also maintain (*l*) that Sovereigns, being in their own Dominions the sole Legislators ; those Books only are Canonical, that is, Law in every Nation, which are established for such by the Sovereign Authority.

h Lev.p.24

i Lib. 8
Nec.p.29.

k Lev.p.91

l Lev. p.
119.c.33.

Stud. In some things you are just to the Prerogative of Kings ; but in others, you ought to have remembred the words of our Lord, who adviseth us to give to *Cesar* the things that are *Cesars*, and unto God the things that are Gods. For your cavil at the name Tyrant, it is in the sense I us'd it (for exercise of unlimited power) unbecoming a Prince : but I know how very frequently it is misapply'd by those, who will call the very bridling of their licentiousness, hateful Tyranny ; and find fault with the Law, for no other reason, but because

it is a restraint upon their supposed freedom : whereas the hedges which the Law sets down, are to keep them onely in the truest and safest way. The absolute Princes of *Syracuse* were called Tyrants, though some of them deserved the title of Benefactors : and amongst our selves, the best of Kings was branded with that ignominious Character. For that which you have justly said in favour of a Monarch, had it been Printed before Forty eight, it might have been of good effect, at least it might have shewed a disposition to promote Loyalty. But being published, after the Kings Martyrdom, and his Sons exile, it served the purposes of those people who had then the *Militia* in their hands. For you say (*a*) that the Rights of a Commonwealth by acquisition, are the same with those, by Institution or Succession : that the Power of the Representative (whether in one or many) cannot without consent be transferr'd, forfeited, accus'd, punish'd : and that such a person is Supreme Judge. The Parliament therefore ought to have return'd you thanks, for ascribing to them the strength of the *Leviathan*, and for keeping their *nostrils* free from the *books* of the right Heir and his Adherents. They ought, especially, to have given you the thanks of the House, for saying, (*b*) *I maintain nothing in any Paradox of Religion ; but attend the end of that dispute of the Sword, concerning the Authority, (not yet amongst my Countreymen decided) by which all sorts of Doctrine are to be approved, or rejected ; and whose commands, both in speech and writing, (whatsoever be the opinions of private*

a Lev. p.
102.

b Lev. p.
241.

vate

vate men) must by all men, that mean to be protected by their Laws, be obeyed.

But notwithstanding all this, what you seem to build up on the side of the Sovereign, you pull down on the side of the People. For whilst you found all upon single temporal Self-interest, (to the advancement of which all safe means are , by you, esteemed (c) lawful) these specious rights are no longer his ; then by main force he can keep possession of them. That will not be long, if great Delinquents call'd in question, and miserable people (who, like such as stake their Cloke in an over-hot day , are willing to hazard the life they would be rid of ; and are easily misled, not looking upon the stumbling-blocks in the way , but (d) on the light that others carry before them), if these can promote their private good , by Sword , or Poyson , or Mutiny. The people, if they believ'd your Doctrine, that a company of Delinquents (e), joyning together to defend themselves by Arms, do not at all unjustly ; but may, lawfully *repel* lawful Force, by Force ; they would soon be stirred up, and suffer none, for whom they have respect, to be brought to justice.

c Lev. 90.
De Civ. c.
1. p. 11.

d Lev. p.
159.

e Lev. p.
111, 112,
113. See
p. 69, 70 of
Lev. and L.
S. Natures
Dowry in
Append. to
F. D. p. 44.

For your last particular concerning the Power of the Civil Sovereign , in relation to that for which we have assing'd

The Ninth place, that is to say, the Canon of Holy Scriptures, it seemeth a great indignity offered to the Sovereignty of Christ. Upon this occasion , I remember a saying of Dr. *Weston*, which would better have become a man in Buff, than a Prolocutor of the Convocation.

a D. Heylins
Hist. of the
Reform. in
Q. M. p. 30

After six days spent in hot dispute about Religion, in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, he dismissed those of the Reformed way in these words (a): *It is not the Queens pleasure that we should spend any longer time in these debates; and ye are well enough already: for you have the Word, and we have the Sword.* So little of the obligation of Holy Writ is perceived by those whose eyes are dazzled with Secular Grandeur.

But, before we come to dispute of the power which maketh the Scripture Law, which is, as 'twere the Main-Battle; may we not a little breath and prepare our selves, in some lesser Skirmishes, touching the Writings of the Old and New Testament?

b Lev. p.
200, 201.
at large.

Mr. *Hobbes*. If you like that course, I am ready to joyn with you. First, then, I take notice (b) that divers historical books of the Old Testament, were not written by those whose names they bear; to wit, much of the *Pentateuch*, the Books of *Joshuah*, and *Judges*, and *Ruth*, and *Samuel*, and *Kings*, and *Chronicles*.

Stud. This hath been, long since said, and proved, from the places which you cite in your *Leviathan*, by the *Frenchman* who founded a Systeme of Divinity upon the conceit of men before *Adam*: who also, by Recantation, unravel'd his Cobweb, spun out of his own fancie, rather than the true Records of time. But this doth not invalidate the truth of those Histories, whose sufficient Antiquity is, by you, granted.

Mr.

Mr. Hobbes. I observe, again, concerning the Book of *Job* (a), that though it appear sufficiently that he was no feigned person, yet the Book it self seemeth not to be an History, but a Treatise concerning a question in ancient time disputed, why wicked men have often prospered in this world, and good men have been afflicted: and it is the more probable, because the whole dispute is in Verse---but Verse is no usual style of such as either are themselves in great pain, as *Job*; or of such as come to comfort them, as his Friends; but in Philosophy, especially moral Philosophy, in ancient time frequent.

a Lev. p. 202.

Stud. It is not thought that *Job* or his Friends, but *Moses*, or some other, pen'd the History in the form in which we have it. But however you here alledge a Reason, which proveth the contrary to the purpose you would have it serve for: For Poetry exciting the imagination and affections, is fittest for painting out the Scene of Tragedy. You have, surely, forgotten *Ovid de Tristibus*.

Mr. Hobbes. Please your self in replies: I will proceed to observe further, that (b) as for the Books of the Old Testament, they are derived to us, from no other time then that of *Esdra*s, who, by the direction of Gods Spirit, retrieved them, when they were lost.

b Lev. p. 203. See Lev. p. 284.

Stud. That place in the fourth book of *Esdra*s

dras, wherein it is said in his person, Thy Law is burnt (*e*), therefore no man knoweth the things that thou hast done, is a very fable. For though the Autographa of *Moses*, and the Prophets have been thought to have perished at the burning of *Hierusalem*, yet it is not true that all the Copies were destroyed: For the Prophets, in the Captivity (*d*) read the Law. And concerning that whole fourth Book, it is said by *Bellarmino* himself, (*e*) that the Author is a Romancer. Of the like nature may they seem who talk of the men of the *Synagoga magna*, making *Ezra* to be a chief man amongst them, and ascribing to them the several divisions and sections of the Old Testament; even that, wherein the Book of *Daniel* is (most absurdly) reckon'd amongst the *Hagiographa*. Of that *Synagoga magna*, there is not one word spoken by *Josephus*, or *St. Hierom*, though both had very fair occasions, in some parts of their writings, to have intreated of it. And the deficiency of the Jewish story, about that time, may move us to believe that this was the fiction of modern Rabbies; and *Morinus* thinks he has demonstrated that so it was.

f Lev. p. 159. Mr. *Hobbes*. I note again, that the (*f*) Septuagint, who were seventy Learned men of the Jews, sent for by *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, to translate the Jewish Law, out of the Hebrew into Greek, have left us no other Books for holy Scripture in the Greek Tongue, but the same

same that are received in the Church of England.

Stud. It is not resolved whether they translated any more then the five Books of *Moses*, and whether they turn'd them out of *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, or the *Samaritan* Tongue, to which latter Pentateuch the translation of the seventy is shew'd, by *Hottinger*, to agree most exactly, in a very great number of places, by him produced in order (g): but there is as great question whether that we have, be the true Copy of the Seventy: for seeing therein the names of places (as *Καππαδόκας* for *Cappadocia*) are there rendred not according to the *Hebrew*, but after the manner in which they were call'd in the latter times under the second Temple (h); the antiquity of the Copy of *Rome* may be suspected.

g See Hotting. Thes. Philolog. p.281, &c.

h See Dr. Lightfoot's Horæ Heb. in S. Marc. p. 49, 50. i Leviath. p.204.

Mr. Hobbes. Be it also observed(i) that those Books which are called *Apocrypha* were left out of the Canon, not for inconformity of Doctrine with the rest, but *only* because they are not found in the *Hebrew*.

Stud. Here, again, you erre: for by the same Reason, some part which is contained in the Canon, should have been, of old, excluded. For instance, the Book of *Daniel* is partly written in *Hebrew*, and partly writ in *Chaldee*; for *Daniel* had learnt that Tongue in *Babylon* by the command of the King. Neither are all *Apocryphal* Books to be thought not written in

Hebrew; for that excellent Book of the Son of *Syrach*, as is manifest by his Preface to it, was a translation out of the *Hebrew* Copie of his Grand-father *Jesus*. The Reason why such Books were not received by the Jews into the Canon, was not what you suggest, but because they seem'd not written by that kinde of prophesie which they called *Ruach Hakodesh* (a).

a See Voi-
sin in Pro-
am. Pug.
fid. p. 103.
b Lev. p.
199. c. 33.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I confess (b) *St. Hierom* had seen the first of the *Maccabees* in *Hebrew*.

Stud. Neither is that rightly noted: For the Book which *St. Hierom* saw, as is thought by *Drusius*, a man profoundly learned in these matters, was the first Book of the History of the *Hasmoneai*, whose *Epoch* was of latter date, though the names are us'd promiscuously amongst the Jews.

c Lev. p.
203, 204.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I proceed to note, that (c) the Writers of the New Testament lived all in less than an age after Christs Ascension, and had all of them seen our Saviour, or been his Disciples, except *St. Paul*, and *St. Luke*; and consequently whatsoever was written by them is as ancient as the time of the Apostles. But the time wherein the Books of the New Testament were received, and acknowledged by the Church to be of their writing, is not altogether so ancient.---- These Books of which the Copies were not many, nor could easily be all in any one private mans hand, cannot be derived from a
higher

higher time, than that wherein the Governours of the Church collected, approved, and recommended them to us, as the Writings of those Apostles and Disciples, under whose names they go. The first Enumeration of all the Books, both of the Old and New Testament, is in the Canons of the Apostles, supposed to be collected by *Clement* the first (after *St. Peter*) Bishop of *Rome*. But because that is but supposed, and by many questioned, the Council of *Laodicea* is the first we know, that recommended the Bible to the then Christian Churches, for the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles: and this Council was held in the 364 year after Christ. At which time, though ambition had so far prevailed on the great Doctors of the Church, as no more to esteem Emperours though Christian, for the Shepherds of the people, but for Sheep; and Emperours not Christian, for Wolves; and endeavour'd to pass their Doctrine, not for counsel and information, as Preachers; but for Laws, as absolute Governours; and thought such frauds as tended to make the people more obedient to Christian Doctrine, to be pious; yet I am perswaded they did not therefore fall line the Scriptures, though the Copies of the Books of the New Testament, were in the hands onely of the Ecclesiasticks; because if they had had an intention so to do, they would surely have made them more favourable to their power over Christian Princes, and civil Sovereignty, then they are.

a Bin. Conc.
tom. 3. pag.
663.
b Dr. Ham.
conc. Ignat.
Ep. p. 4.

Stud. It is plain to those who are versed in the Monuments of the Church, that the Books of the New Testament were declared Canon very early, though the precise time and place be not so easily known. Upon the Enumeration made in the Apostolick Canons, we rely not; not because that Book is to be esteemed wholly spurious; but because this Enumeration is made in the eighty fourth Canon. For the first fifty are those for whose antiquity we contend. It is true that the whole is call'd Apocryphal, by the Council (a) at Rome under Pope Gelasius: and it hath been answer'd, (b) that they were so called, not as if they were not ancient Pieces, but because they were not made *Nomocanon* or Canon-Law. But doubtless that Council rejected them as spurious Writings, numbring them amongst the late and feigned pieces of the Gospel of *St. Andrew*, the Revelation of *St. Paul*, the Books of *Og the Gyant*, of the Testament of *Job*, of the Daughters of *Adam*, and the like. But it hath also condemn'd the Works of *Tertullian*, *St. Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, and the History of *Ensebius*; and therefore it is not material what writing standeth or falleth, before such erroneous Judges. Certain it is by other passages, in ancient Writers, that the New Testament was acknowledged to be Canon, long enough before the Council of *Laodicea*. The earliest Christian Writers whose Books are derived to our hands, abound in citations of the New Testament, as the undoubted Register of what was done,

done, and taught, and as the publick Rule. Tertullian (for example) citeth very many places out of every book which now is contained in the Canon of the New Testament, if I except the second of St. Peter. And in his fourth Book against Marcion (c) he speaketh effectually to our present purpose. If that (said he) be truest which was first, and that be first which was from the beginning, and that be from the beginning which is derived from the Apostles; it is also manifest, that that was from the Apostles which is sacred in the Churches of the Apostles. Let us see then what milk St. Paul fed the Corinthians with: by what rule the Galatians were reformed; what the Philippians, Thessalonians, Ephesians read; as also what the Romans preach, to whom St. Peter and St. Paul did leave the Gospel sealed with their blood. We have also Churches instructed by St. John. For although Marcion hath rejected his Apocalypse, yet the succession of the Bishops traced to the beginning, will establish him as the certain Author of that Book. And he had taught a while before (d), that the Gospels had Apostles and Apostolike men for their undoubted Authors. And, some years before Tertullian, Irenaeus (e) wrote to the same effect. Matthew (said he) to the Hebrews, in their tongue, published the Scripture or the Gospel, when Peter and Paul did preach the Gospel at Rome, and founded a Church. after their departure, Mark the Disciple and Interpreter of Peter, deliver'd to us in writing those things which had been preached by Peter: and Luke, the follower of Paul, compiled, in a book, the Gospel which

c Tert. adv.

Marc. l. 4.

p. 4. 5.

d Tert. B.

p. 14. B.

e Iren. l. 3.

c. 1. p. 229.

which was preached by hmi. and afterwards John (that Disciple of our Lord who leaned upon his breast) residing in Asia, in the City of Ephesus, did himself also set forth a Gospel. The Books then of the New Testament were received anciently enough, as the Writings of such whose names they bare, and as the Records of Truth. And for the Copies of them, they were so widely dispersed, that it was as hard to corrupt them all, as to poyson the Sea. They were before the Council of *Laodicea*, not onely in the hands of Ecclesiasticks, but of Christians of any profession; and of Heathens also. So it appeareth by the reflexions, invidiously made on them, by *Celsus*, and *Hierocles*, not to name *Porphyry*, who was once of the Jewish, then of the Christian Religion; and against both at last, by foul Apostacie. In the persecution of *Diocletian*, in the beginning of the fourth Century, there was an Edict for the delivering up the Copies of the Gospel: which for fear, was done by divers Christians, known by the name of *Traditores* in Church-History; and yet notwithstanding very many Copies were preserved by such good men, who valued the other state before this, and feared to be blotted out of the Book of Life, if they should so contribute to the extermination of the Books of Scripture. Historians tell us (a) that the number of the *Traditores* was very great; but that the number of such who (as the Roman Office saith) chose rather to give up themselves to the Executioners, than to deliver up holy things to Dogs, was almost infinite: and amongst these were

a *Vide*
Biscol. E-
pit. annal.
Bar. p. 137.
Tradit. in-
gens nume-
rus; sed
propè infini-
tus illorum,
qui mortem
petiunt, &c.

were very many Virgins, particularly, *Crispina*, *Marciana*, *Candida*. So apparently false it is, that the Copies were but few, and those few only in the hands of Ecclesiasticks. But in whatsoever hands these Books were, and at whatsoever time they were first publicly acknowledged, in this (I think) we agree, (and *Julian* himself (*b*) confess'd it, when Apostate) that they are genuine.

b Jul. A.
post. Epist.
p. 195.

Mr. *Hobbes*. I see not (*c*) any reason to doubt, but that the Old and New Testament, as we have them now, are the true Registers of those things, which were done and said by the Prophets and Apostles.

c Lev. p.
204.

Stud. What hindereth then, that we may not at all times, do or speak the things contained in them, after such manner as we are there directed? And that the Scripture should not be a perpetual Canon to every Christian; seeing the Laws of Christ are contained in it, and the Successors of the Apostles (who could bind them upon the Church with sufficient right, though not with outward force) propounded them as necessary Rules of life? But, methinks, 'tis enough to constitute a Canon to any particular man, if he may, by any means attain unto a certain belief, of any Rule, as delivered by Christ; without a superadded Decree Ecclesiastical or Civil.

Mr. *Hobbes*. That (*c*) the New Testament should in this sense be Canonical, that is to say,

c Lev. c. 42
p. 284, 285.

*d Surely
Lawyers
understand
that there
are Laws
of God, and
Nature, as
well as, of
a Civil So-
vereign; and
that Law is
better de-
fin'd, than
by Mr.
Hobbes,
when it
is said to
be, Regula
actuum
moralium
obligans
ad id quod
rectum est.*

a Law in any place, where the Law of the Commonwealth had not made it so, is contrary to the nature of a Law. For a Law (*d*) is the Commandment of that Man, or Assembly, to whom we have given Sovereign Authority, to make such Rules for the direction of our Actions, as he shall think fit; and so punish us when we do any thing contrary to the same. When therefore any other man shall offer unto us any other Rules, which the Sovereign Ruler hath not prescribed, they are but Counsel, and Advice; which, whether good or bad, he that is counselled, may without injustice refuse to observe; and when contrary to the Laws already established, without injustice cannot observe, how good soever he conceiveth it to be. I say, he cannot in this case observe the same in his actions; nor in his discourse with other men; though he may without blame believe his private Teachers, and wish he had the liberty to practise their advice; and that it were publicly received for Law.

Stud. Then, it seems it is good Doctrine, (which I always judg'd most horrid Blasphemy) That Almighty God, (who, giving us our being, may oblige us, without our consent) can make no Laws, before the people choose a Governour; nor any afterwards, unless they be agreeable to those enacted by the Civil Power. then before the days of *Constantine*, a private man was obliged to be, a Jew, or a Gentile, according to the Civil Authority under which

he was ; and that Christianity did not oblige the conversation of any man.

Mr. Hobbes. Christ (*d*) hath not subjected us to other Laws than those of the Commonwealth ; that is, the Jews to the Law of *Moses*, (which he saith (*Mat. 5.*) he came not to destroy, but to fulfil) and other Nations to the Laws of their several Sovereigns.

d Lev. p.
285.

Stud. That Christ subjected the Jews to the Law of *Moses*, considered as such, is a saying which relisheth both of ignorance and irreligion. It is evident that the very Law of the Ten Commandments, obligeth not any Christian man, (though he be supposed to live under a Jewish Sovereign) as delivered by *Moses*, but as the design of them agreeth with the Law of Nature, and of Christ, who advanced both Laws, and filled them up, adding as 'twere his last hand to an imperfect Draught. And for the Ceremonial Law, our Saviour came to put an end to it, because it was but an estate of expectation, and consisted in shadows of good things to come: & if he had established that as an enduring Law, he had, in effect, denied himself to be the true Messiah. For the sprinkling of the Altar with the blood of Bulls and Goats, after the antient manner of the Jews, importeth manifestly that the effectual Oblation is not yet offered: wherefore St. Paul (*a*) bespeaketh his *Galatians* after this manner : Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.

a Gal. 5. 1,

2.

Be-

b Deut. 18

15, 18,

comp. with

Act. 3. 22.

c.c.

c Jul. Cæs.

Vanin. Di-

alog. p. 359.

d Nemo se-

paratim

Deos ha-

bescit.

Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. Moses himself foretold that our Saviour should arise after him, and become a Prophet to be obeyed in whatsoever he taught the people (b): wherefor Caesar Vanin (c), who suffered as an Atheist, said, in his Dialogues, that Moses was not so politick as the Messiah, in delivering his Laws; because he foretold the abrogation of them, whilst Christ propounded his as everlasting.

Then for Christs subjecting the Gentiles to the Law of their Civil Sovereign, of what persuasion soever, it is contrary to the great design of our Saviours coming: for amongst the Heathen, the worship of false Gods was the Law of their Country. It was one of the Laws of the twelve Tables (d), that no man should have a personal Religion, but worship such Gods, and in such manner, as the Law of his Countrey did prescribe. And Cicero shews how, in his days, it was not lawful to worship any sort of Gods; lest a confusion should be brought into Religion. Hence *Augustus*, travelling in *Egypt*, would not step out of his way, to visit *Apis*; and *Cain* his Nephew, passing through *Judea*, would not worship at *Jerusalem*. Hence *Socrates* and *Protagoras*, maintaining opinions disagreeing with the Religion of their Countrey, were condemned; and *Anacharsis*, also, suffered in *Scythia* for celebrating the Feast of *Bacchus*, by the forein Ceremonies of *Greece*. Hence Christ was not registred in the *Calendar* of the Gods, though *Tiberius* understanding his Divinity from *Pontius Pilate*, gave his suffrage

frage for it ; because it pleased not the Senate ; and because (saith *Tertullian*) it was an old Decree of *Rome* , that no man should be consecrated for a Deity by the Emperor, without their Approbation. If then all persons were to be outwardly obedient to the Civil Powers, they were to worship false Deities ; Idolatry being then established by a Law ; but on the contrary, it is evident, that one main end of our Saviours coming was to destroy the works of the Devil, and to bring the Gentiles from the worship of *Demons*, to the service of the true God. Idolaters, therefore, are reckon'd amongst those who shall not inherit the Kingdom of Christ : and *St. Paul* wrote so much particularly to (*d*) the *Corinthians* , and *Ephesians*, of those days, when the Powers were Heathen ; and not merely to such as should read his Epistles in and after the Reign of *Constantine* : and preaching at *Athens* against the Altar, *To the unknown God* (set up, no doubt, by publike Authority) and declaiming against the honour paid to false Gods ; he let sthem understand, that the times of the ignorance of the Gentiles (*e*) God winked at , but now he commandeth all men every where to repent ; because he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained ; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men , in that he hath raised him from the dead.

di Cor. 6. 9
Ephes. 5. 5.
1 Cor. 10.

e Acts 17
30, 31.

Mr. *Hobbes*. Such discourses are Counsels, and not Laws. Our Saviour (*a*) and his Apostles *a* Levitic. p. 285.

files left no new Laws to oblige us in this world, but new Doctrine to prepare us for the next; the Books of the New Testament which contain that Doctrine, until obedience to them was commanded, by them that God had given power to on earth to be Legislators, were not obligatory Canons, that is, Laws, but only good, and safe advice, for the direction of sinners in the way to salvation, which every man might take, and refuse at his peril, without injustice.

Stud. The Doctrines of Christ avail not, at all, towards an entrance into his Kingdom, without obedience (*b*) to his Laws: and besides, those of meer Nature, he hath left new Laws unto the world: such are those of forgiving enemies, and against private Revenge: those, concerning Baptism, and his Holy Supper: concerning Divorce and Polygamy: concerning a professing of faith in him as the Messiah: concerning an Inward Religion, (*c*) which the Governors of the world cannot take cognizance of; and which *Trypha* the Jew, with many others, hath denied to have been given by *Moses*, whose Laws they suppose to have extended not to the thought, but the conversation. That which concerns Polygamy hath (*I* know) been doubted; yet (as it seemeth to me) without Reason: for when our Saviour said (*d*) that he who putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth Adultery; he plainly forbade plurality of Wives at the same time; which if it had been allowed, the man might have taken more than

b Heb. 5. 9.

c See Iren.
l. 4. c. 31. p.
353.

d S. Luke
16. 18.

and

another to him, without sin. Here then the Law of perfection hath bound us, where Nature seemeth to have left us at liberty. Now seeing these Institutions are the will of Christ, and that Christ hath made sufficient promulgation of them to millions of men, and that he is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and that he hath annexed to them the greatest rewards and punishments to secure them from violation; it is evident that these are sufficient Laws, both without, and against, the Civil Sanction. For to say that the Princes of the Earth are Superior to Christ, is a Blasphemy of such altitude, that the ninetieth degree being cut, we can scarce take the height of it. What maketh a Superiour Law, but a Superiour power, declaring his Will in some particular instances, to be obey'd? The Prohibition of the Tree of Life was the firmest Law to *Adam*, though no humane Law was then enacted; nay, although *Adam* was King of the Earth.

But, if the Christian Faith was not a Law for more than three hundred years, to what end is it (*d*), that the Apostles, and other Pastors of the Church, after their time should meet together, to decree upon what Doctrine should be taught, both for faith and manners, if no man were obliged to observe their Decrees? d See Lev. p. 286.

Mr. Hobbes. To this (*e*) may be answered, *e* *ibid.* that the Apostles and Elders of that Council, were obliged even by their entrance into it, to teach the Doctrine therein concluded, and decreed to be taught, so far forth, as no precedent

Law, to which they were obliged to yeild obedience, was to the contrary ; but not that all other Christians should be obliged to observe what they taught : for though they might deliberate what each of them should teach ; yet they could not deliberate what others should do, unless their Assembly had had a Legislative power ; which none could have but Civil Sovereigns.

Stud. That is, the Gospel preached by them was no Law then, because it did not cut its way by the Temporal Sword, and had no outward power to give it countenance, and urge its entertainment. Is that your meaning ?

a Lev. p.
285.

Mr. Hobbes. You conjecture aright : for (a) in Christs Commission to his Apostles and Disciples — there is nothing of power but perswasion. — They had not in Commission to make Laws; but to obey and teach obedience to Laws made, and consequently they could not make their writings obligatory Canons, without the help of the Sovereign Civil Power.

b See in
the end of
that page,
and p. 286.

Stud. That (b) which may seem to give the New Testament, in respect of those that have embraced Christian Doctrine, the force of Laws in the times and places of persecution, is the Decrees they made amongst themselves in their Synods. For we read (*Acts 15. 28.*) the style of the Council of the Apostles ; the Elders, and the whole Church, in this manner : *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and unto us, to lay upon you*

you no greater burthen than these necessary things, &c. which is a style that signifieth a power to lay a burthen on them that had received their Doctrine. Now to lay a burthen on another, seemeth the same that to oblige ; and therefore the Acts of that Council were Laws to the then Christians.

Mr. Hobbes. They were no more Laws than are those other Precepts, *Repent ; be Baptized ; keep the Commandments ; believe the Gospel ; come unto me ; sell all that thou hast , give it to the poor ; and, follow me :* which are not Commands, but Invitations , and callings of men to Christianity, like that of *Esay 55. 1. Ho, every man that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.*

Stud. It seemeth strange that such Counsels should not therefore be Laws, (though some of them are given imperatively enough) because men are gently wooed and invited , and not by outward force compelled to an outside obedience. Our subordination to Christ obligeth us to the performance of his revealed will, which is, for that reason, Law. And because he chooseth to rule us, rather with a Scepter of Righteousness, than an iron Rod, we are, by that, the more obliged, and not at liberty from obedience. You ought, therefore, to have said, not that the Doctrines of our Saviour were not Laws, but that the Civil Sovereign may lay a further obligation upon his Christian Subjects, (as those that make a vow of Chastity , do , upon themselves) by making them become his Laws.

Thus many Articles of the Christian Faith are inserted into the first Law of the *Codex Theodosianus*; not having thereby, first obtained, but doubled their obligation. But this string of error runneth through the whole body of your *Leviathan*, that, without apparent force, there is no law. And this is the chief ground of your irreverent and false Doctrine, against the Power of the Christian Church. Because it is a visible Society professing the Doctrine of the Cross, and hath not of it self external co-active Power, but, by virtue of the Commission of Christ as King, layeth spiritual obligation upon men, (and thereby is consistent with the Civil Empire, in which it is,) therefore you deny unto the Church the right either of making or declaring Laws (*c*) as if there were not onely a quibble but a truth, in the meaning of the Frontispiece of your *Leviathan*, which compares the Canons of the Convocation, to those of the temporal Militia; and that they could not properly have that name, unless they had Powder, and Bullet, and Fire, (external force) attending on them. It is plain enough (and you your self do own it) that after the Ascension (*d*) of our Lord, the Power Ecclesiastical, was in the Apostles; and after them, in such as were by them ordained to preach the Gospel, and to convert men to Christianity; and to direct them that were converted in the way of Salvation; and after these, the Power was delivered again to others by these ordained. But how this Spiritual Power, in the Administration of Spiritual Affairs

c Lev. p.
371.

d Lev. p.
267.

fairs in Christ's Kingdom ; in ordaining Successors ; in celebrating the Eucharist ; in admitting members into this Spiritual but visible Society by Baptism, and in excommunicating the unworthy, (which is a proof both of the Society and its power) how all this (I say) was derived on the person of *Constantine*, who was neither Ordained, nor (as some tell us) baptized till his death ; requireth greater skill to explain, then I dare yet pretend to : he therefore rather gave outward aids and succors, then true authority and right to the Doctrines and Commandments of his Sovereign Jesus. Which things being well consider'd, you ought not to have ascrib'd (as somewhere you have done) the very rights of the Priestly Function to the civil Powers. *Grotius*, who has not had thanks, from all, for his liberality to the civil Magistrate in relation to the affairs of the Church, hath yet made it his whole designe (in the second Chapter of his Book *De Imperio summarum potestatum circa Sacra*) to make it manifest, that Authority about Holy Things, and the Sacred Function, are distinct. In the same person they may be (as in *Anius* the King and Priest of *Phæbus*) but not without Ordination. For the Power depending upon our Lords Commission, is not convey'd but by Succession, through the hands of the Commissioned. Our thirty seventh Article, doth attribute to the King a Power of outward Rule in Ecclesiastical matters, " yet granteth " not to him either the ministring of Gods " Word, or of the Sacraments. And under the

a 2 Chron.
26.18, 19,
&c.

Law, it was said unto *Uzziah* the King (a) It pertaineth not unto thee *Uzziah* to burn incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests, the Sons of *Aaron*, that are consecrated to burn incense. And because he would use his force in usurping the rights of the Priest, God Almighty smote him with immediate Leprosie; and taught him to discern betwixt might and right. Yet the Kings of *Judah* had power in the Synagogue. They had so *de facto*; neither in many things, wherein they ordered Religion, were they reprov'd. Yet to say the truth, the having such right is no where commanded in the Old Law; which enjoin'd not the people to have a King; but, upon conditions, permitted one to them, if they should prefer the customs of the Heathen-Nations, before the most excellent estate of *Theocracie*. Wherefore let them see whether they build closely, who establish the Ecclesiastical Power of Christian Princes, upon the exercise of it amongst the Kings of *Judah*. It concerneth you also to consider whether you have not unduly ascrib'd unto the Prince, as such, the Power of the Keys, and the Right of Ordination, and Ministration of the Sacraments, and Word of Christ. *The Monarch* (say you) or (b) *the Sovereign Assembly* onely hath immediate Authority from God, to teach and instruct the people; and no man but *the Sovereign* receiveth his Power *Dei Gratia* simply. — He it is that hath (c) authority not onely to preach (which perhaps no man will deny;) but also to baptize, and to administer the Sacrament of the Lords Supper; and to consecrate both Temples

b Lev. p.
125.

c Lev. p.
297.

and

and Pastors to Gods service. — If the Sovereign Power (d) give me command (though without the ceremony of imposition of hands) to teach the Do-
 ctrine of my Leviathan in the Pulpit, why am not I, if my Doctrine and life be as good as yours, a Minister as well as you? This is saying and not proving; and because the power was from Christ derived to the Apostles, and from them in Succession, by Ordination; and can be in none to whom it is not convey'd in such a Channel; in what you have said, had you been vers'd in the several Writings of a Divine of the Church of *England* (a man of greater and better Learning then either your self or Mr. *Selden*, whose Doctrine you seem to have swallow'd down together with the good provisions of his Table; and who is said to have mistaken the very state of the *Erastian* Controversie (a) whilst he defin'd Excommunication to be a Censure inferring a civil penalty) you would have either altered your opinion, or aggravated your error.

a See Just weights & meas. p. 25.

It appeareth, by what hath been delivered, that there is Authority enough, without the civil Sanction, to make the Doctrines of the Apostles to become Laws, to wit, the Kingly Power of Christ, whose Commissioners they were, and who had power to cause their rights to descend to others by Ordination. And before the days of *Constantine*, there wanted not the Fountain of outward force, not onely in our Lord, who could dash in pieces Sovereigns of the finest mold; but also in his Members, who (as is manifest from Ecclesiastical story) had often

ten strength enough to have check'd the fury of their persecutors, and to have forc'd the yoke of Christ upon their necks. But it seemed good to our blessed Lord, during this state of mans probation; to deal chiefly with him, according to his reasonable nature, and to invite rather than compel. And yet, methinks, the threatnings of eternal vengeance seem to carry more force with them; then all the prisons in the world. And it is time to think that the Gospel obligeth, when we hazard perpetual misery by disobeying it, whether we be Jews or Greeks, if its sound hath reached us.

a Lev. p.
286.

Mr. Hobbes. The Jews and Gentiles were to be damned, not for their infidelity, but (a) their old sins. If the Apostles Acts of Council were Laws, they could not without sin be disobeyed. But we read not any where that they who receiv'd not the Doctrine of Christ, did therein sin; but that they dyed in their sins; that is, that the sins against the Laws to which they owed obedience, were not pardoned. And those Laws were the Laws of Nature, and the civil Laws of the State, whereto every Christian man had by pact submitted himself. And therefore by the burthen, which the Apostles might lay on such as they had converted, are not to be understood Laws, but Conditions, proposed to those that sought Salvation; which they might accept or refuse at their own peril, without a new sin, though not without the hazard of being condemned and excluded out of the Kingdom of God, for their
sins

sins past. And therefore of Infidels St. John saith John 3.36.
not, the wrath of God shall come upon them, John 3.18.
but the wrath of God remaineth upon them;
and not that they shall be condemned, but that
they are condemned already.

Stud. What will not a man say rather then
acknowledge himself in an error, though the
thing it self speaketh it? Here's mistake clap'd
upon mistake: yet the scales of the *Leviathan*
are not so close, but a blinde Archer may shoot
between them. Have you not read what our
Lord said to his disciples, after his resurrection?
Go ye into all the world (b), and preach the Gospel b S. Marc.
to every creature. He that believeth and is bapti- 16. 15, 16.
zed shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall
be damned. The Author, also, to the *Hebrews*
(c) exhorteth the Jews to believe in Christ; and c Heb. 4. 11,
tellet them they shall, for ever, be excluded &c.
the Kingdom of heaven for their unbelief, (if
they persevere in it) as their Fore-fathers came
short of *Canaan* for the same reason. And al-
though St. John, in the places cited, doth speak in
the present tense, yet in others of the same Chap-
ter, he speaketh in the future: and in that very
verse which you cite partially, concealing the
words which are against you, he maketh their
unbelief the cause of that severe decree which, al-
ready, was gone forth. V. 18. *He that believeth on*
him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is
condemned already, because he hath not believed
in the name of the only begotten Son of God. V. 19.
This is the condemnation, that light is come into
the world, and men loved darkness rather then
light,

light, because their deeds were evil. V. 36. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.

Mr. Hobbes. There is, yet, behinde, a reason, whereby I prove that the doctrine of the Gospel is not made Law, by Christ or his Apostles. The Apostles power (a) was no other than that of our Saviour, to invite men to embrace the Kingdom of God; which they themselves acknowledged for a Kingdom (not present, but) to come, and they that have no Kingdom, can make no Laws.

Stud. Christ, as Mediator, before his Resurrection, had power of making stronger Laws than any Sovereigns now upon earth, for he had immediate Commission from God in Heaven.

b John 12. 45, 48, 50. *He that saw Christ (b) saw him that sent him: and whatsoever Christ spake, even as the Father said unto him, so he spake. And he that rejected him was to be condemned by his words at the last day.* And Christ when his Father sent him, was design'd to be a King over Men and Angels, and for that purpose he came into the world: and he acquired this Kingship by way of conquest in his resurrection from the dead: after which he spake

c Matt. 28. 18. (c) unto his Disciples, saying, *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you al-*

ways

ways unto the end of the world. And when he ascended and sate on the right hand of God, he was inaugurated into his Heavenly Kingdom, (d) and became in truth a Divine *Heroe*, as those amongst the Heathens were in pretence; and he at present raigneth, be the earth never so rebellious, in the Oeconomy of his Church. d 1 Pet. 3. 22.

But to step, out of this, into our

Tenth Place of Discourse: if the commands of Christ and his Apostles, are not, also, Laws, without the civil Sanction; what meaneth the common Doctrine, in the Scripture, of suffering for the sake of Christianity? we are enjoined to take up the Cross, and to follow Christ: Blessedness is promised to those who are persecuted for righteousness sake; that suffer as Christians: and we are taught, that the way to preserve our lives, is to loose them, for a time, in the glorious cause of Jesus. Such commands and exhortations to dye rather than to obey unchristian injunctions, are delivered in vain; yea they deserve the name of impious, if they be not a royal Law, without the stamp and allowance of civil Authority. It is then, in your opinion, not onely our priviledge but our duty, to save the skin entire; and, for the sake of outward safety, to obey that which is truly Law, the Law of our Country, though we live amongst the Heathens, rather than to follow dangerous, though Evangelical, counsel.

Mr. Hobbes. You may easily make confession of my sense, in the present case; because I say the disobedient to the civil Powers do

e Lev. p.
271.

do violate that which is properly Law. We are not obliged (e) to obey any Minister of Christ, if he should command us to do any thing contrary to the command of the King, or other Sovereign representant of the Common-wealth whereof we are Members, and by whom we look to be protected.

Stud. Were this truth, there ought not to have been any zealous propagation of the Gospel; but it should have expired, with the Author of it upon the Cross. For the Apostles finned both against the Law of Nature, and Common-wealth, in exposing their lives to hazard by preaching to the Gentiles; if it was injustice to gain-say their Pagan Edicts. *St. Thomas*, then, though armed with Miracles to command assent, ought, either not to have wandred to the *East-Indies*; or being there, not to have preached up a new Religion: and what he suffered, for that cause, was just, from the hand of Pagan Authority.

a Lev. c.
27 p. 152.

Mr. Hobbes. Into what place (a) soever a man shall come, if he do any thing contrary to the Law, it is a crime. If a man come from the *Indies* hither, and perswade men here to receive a new Religion, or teach them any thing that tenderh to disobedience of the Laws of his Countrey, though he be never so well perswaded of the truth of what he teacheth, he commits a crime, and may be justly punished for the same, not only because his Doctrine is false, but also because he does that which he would not

ap-

approve in another, namely, that coming from hence, he should endeavour to alter the Religion there.

Stud. A good man would be desirous of information, in matters of the greatest moment, from what quarter soever of the Heavens, the light shined into his understanding : and the Question is only of the assurance which the Teacher can give, and not of the equity of his Practice, if he can prove to others that he is divinely inspir'd. But to pass by that enquiry, I cannot refrain from asking you (though I can guess at your opinion) whether every Traveller is bound to profess the Religion of that Country into which he goeth ? I mean not this of meer prudence and caution, of an open countenance and close breast ; but of actual compliance with all foreign institutions ; so as to do as men do at *Rome*, or *Constantinople*, or *Agra*, if we were sojourners there.

M. Hobbes. To this I shall, by and by, say something particularly ; but I will now, in general terms, affirm, that whosoever (*b*) entereth into anothers Dominion, is subject to all the Laws thereof ; unless he have a priviledge by the Amity of the Sovereigns, or by special License.

Stud. Seeing then the Romanists depend much upon *Opus operatum* ; if you returned but to *Paris* and practis'd your own Doctrine, the prayer of Monsieur *Sorbiere* (*c*) would be heard, who,

b Lev. p.
114.

c Sorb.
Voyage. p.
99.

who, (in his Voyage, when he weeded *England*) desired you might become a Roman Catholick. This digression puts me in mind of a saying of B. *Andrews*, who, when it was told, that some of the Scotch-Clergy, were to be made Bishops; advised, that they should be made Priests first.

But, what great motive is there to this compliance with the civil Power, of any persuasion?

a Lev. p.
271.

Mr. *Hobbes*. That I hinted just now, in saying, that by them we look to be protected (a).

Stud. As if the favour of our Lord, the Prince of Glory, towards his sincere, and faithful, patient, and undaunted subjects (who will not be baffled out of truth, nor be ashamed of the Gospel) were not of more value than the thin shelter of worldly-Power, which, if it could hide us under Rocks and Mountains, could not secure us from the stroke of him, who is, in the first place, to be feared: methinks, in the competition betwixt danger from men, and disobedience to Christ, (as in the case of such as are commanded by Heathen powers to sacrifice to *Demon*) it is easie to see on which hand we ought to turn: when there is before us, a Natural and a Moral evil, the Natural being the least, is therefore to be chosen: thus *Socrates* was obliged to prefer Death, before the acknowledgment of *Polytheism*; and by such choice, we, in truth, preserve our selves, and most effectually obey that dictate of Nature: for we

part

part with a short and unpleasant, for an happy and endless life; and our health is eternally secured to us, by the effusion of the blood of Martyrdom: and, indeed, it hath been the sence of a'most all mankind, derived from the fear of a God, or the excellent Nature of Virtue; that the honest good is to be preferr'd before either the profitable, or the pleasant; and that in such cases, the powers on Earth are not to be obeyed, though upon the refusal of their pleasure, they will glut their malice with the blood of men.

The three Children, menaced with the Furnace, chose rather to suffer the wrath of *Nebuchadnezzar*, than to do his will, in worshipping the Golden Image; and God Almighty declar'd his acceptance of such a refusal, whilst, by Miracle, he deliver'd them. And the fact of those Parents who saved *Moses*, not being afraid (a) of the commandment of *Pharaoh*, a Heb. 11: 23. who design'd all the Males of *Israel* for slaughter, is deliver'd down unto posterity, with honour and applause, by the Author to the *Hebrews*: and in that little Book of Martyrs, we read (b) of some, who scorn'd to accept of a temporal deliverance; when it was offer'd to them, upon the unworthy terms of Apostacie or recantation; they having in their eye, a greater reward. And it is recorded, rather to the fame than reproach of the *Eastern Magi*, (c) that in returning to their Countrey, they c S. Mat. 2: 8, &c. passed by, *Herod*, who had, with evil intent, commanded them to bring him word concerning the birth of the King of the Jews. If a Prince

d Tatian. (said *(d)* *Tatianus*) commands me to deny my God, I will rather die at his foot, than live to exercise his pleasure: and the holy Bishop *Felix Africanus* and his Associates (men of great Integrity and constancie of mind) would rather give up their own lives, than the Copies of the New Testament, which *Dioclesian* intended so to destroy, that it might not be found at all in the Annals of the World, that ever there was such a Doctrine as Christianity. The very *Grecians*, whose manner was to use prostration only in the Rites of their Religion, refused, what peril soever was imminent, to worship, in that fashion, the King of *Persia*: and the Christians who sometimes payed a civil respect before the Images of the Emperors, chose rather to expose themselves to the cruelty of their Enemies, than to humble themselves, as in former days, when *Julian*, added to them, the Images of false Gods: and such refusals are not detructive of Government and Society, because the true Christian, doth not, in these cases, fill the World with clamours, or endeavor to raise tumults, but is led in imitation of his Saviour, like an innocent and meek Lamb, unto the slaughter (e).

e Orig. con.

Cels. l. 3.

Οὐκ ἐστὶ γὰρ λαμβάνομεν ἐκ τῶν μακαρίων, ἢ ἀμεινότητος
ἐτι σολομεῖν γινόμενοι διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν υἱὸς τῆς οἰκίας.

f Lev. c.

45. p. 362.

Mr. *Hobbes*. For an (f) unlearned man, that is in the power of an idolatrous King or State, if commanded on pain of death to worship before an Idol, he detesteth the Idol in his heart,
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he doth well ; though if he had the fortitude to suffer death rather than to worship it , he should do better.

Stud. The most obscure and illiterate person, doing outward worship to false Gods, though he sinneth not with such scandal as the wise and the renowned , who are apt to draw a multitude into the like snare , yet he is not to be acquitted as an innocent man. For, by such means , the Idolators who affright this man out of his Religion , do triumph over the Honour of the true God, the procuring whose dishonour is against Reason, which teacheth man , apart , to adore his Sovereign Lord , and in Society , to be publike in his adoration , and not to conceal it under the Vizard of an ill-instructed Pagan, who serveth Devils. *Reason* (you (a) know) directeth, not only to worship God in secret ; but also , and especially in publick, and in the sight of men : for without that , (that which in honour is most acceptable) the procuring others to honour him, is lost. a Lev. p. 192.

But to come to somewhat peculiar in Christianity ; what if (b) a King or a Senate, or other Sovereign Person , forbid us to believe in Christ ? b Lev. c. 42 p. 271.

Mr. Hobbes. To this (c) I answer , that such forbidding is of no effect ; because belief and unbelief never follow mens commands. Faith is a gift of God, which man can neither c Ibid.